# NEW ZEALAND SCHOOLCHILDREN'S COGNITIVE AWARENESS TO, AND EVALUATION OF, SOME ASPECTS OF SOCIAL STRATIFICATION.

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## ABSTRACT

An investigation was carried out on New Zealand schoolchildren's awareness to stratification, attempting to ascertain whether knowledge of a stratification structure would be prevalent amongst pre-work schoolchildren. Three age groups of boys and girls were classified into three levels of socio-economic status, using Elley & Irving's (1976) Socio-economic Index. The experimental methodology consisted of a multi-dimensional approach. A Picture Test, standardised to a New Zealand setting, tested the children's cognitive awareness to stratification, while an adapted Projective Story-completion Task explored children's evaluations of the importance to be placed on stratification.

New Zealand children's cognitive awareness to stratification is comparable to the findings in overseas studies on children's awareness to stratification. With an increase in age, children show a marked ability to stratify New Zealand society along adult lines. Awareness to stratification is already well developed in the youngest age group tested, 9-year old subjects. Of interest is the discovery that New Zealand children seem to view society in terms of a dichotomy, with the development of a full hierarchy stratification structure yet to take place. Sex and socio-economic status of father were found to have only minor effects on the findings.

The children's evaluations of stratification show that they firmly believe that the status level one holds will not influence the treatment received with regards to legal penalties. This holds across sex, age, and socio-economic status groups. However, answers to the Projective Story-completion Task by the oldest age group, 13-year olds, show the development of strata consciousness, whereby a growing percentage of the subjects believe that the strata level one holds will in fact have some bearing on the treatment received with regards to legal penalties.

# CHAPTER I

## INTRODUCTION

In a chapter dealing with social stratification in New Zealand, Collette (1973) reaffirms one of the prominent opinions held with regard to this topic. While not denying outright that social strata exist within the society, the article attempts to illustrate the claim of the homogeneity within New Zealand society with examples from income, mobility, life style and the life chances of various segments of the society. The results show that research within each area has been sparse, and yet has given rise to some indication of the stratification that does exist. This research is almost cast aside by Collette displaying that attitude prevalent in New Zealand society, that there may be differences, but these differences do not carry any special privileges or obligations, they do not have any effect on an individual's social regard. Collette's conclusion follows this line exactly; New Zealand does have social strata, but they are not as obvious as other country's because we lack the symbols and clear-cut distinctions found overseas, and anyway, they are not important, because "there is in New Zealand a strong tendency to homogeneity; egalitarianism is emphasised perhaps more so than in comparable societies" (p.42).

Collette is not the only writer to stress the egalitarianism in New Zealand society on the basis of research findings. McLeod (1968) came to the same conclusion when considering the sameness of life-style and customs; and Baldock (1971) noted that differences in social strata, when experienced in interpersonal relations, were ignored or interpreted in terms of personal idiosyncracies. Baldock also discussed at length the egalitarian trends in the educational philosophy of New Zealand.

The danger in such conclusions is that it allows an attitude of smug self-assurance and leads to a denial for the need for empirical

investigation. Whether or not New Zealand has a class structure or a rigid social stratification system will not be made clear if research is to be based on the scant investigation of such areas as taxable income or occupational prestige. Admittedly, such findings can provide a summation or investigation impression of the way the society is composed, but more deeper investigation needs to be performed to investigate the composition of the society, and develop the procedures that are the formation of the society. Supposedly egalitarian societies abound throughout the world and history, yet when they are held to investigation, the findings show a strong stratification structure.

Popular belief held that Iceland had created an egalitarian society. Yet, Broddason & Webb (1975), by using longitudinal data concerned with the relationship between access and the elite professions, in combination with recently published survey material available from other authors, were able to show that the occupation grouping into which an Icelander is born indicated the level into which he or she will generally choose an occupation. At least this is the case as far as the elite professions are concerned. Iceland does in fact have a rigidly formed stratification structure, brought about through historical influences, such as increases in the total population within any occupational prestige stratum, enabling employment within that stratum to be filled by members. This is reinforced even further by the kinship and personal relationships, which play an important role on the isolated island. The structure of Icelandic society is thus far from egalitarian, and Broddason & Webb predict that with further decline in the traditional society there will be more open acceptance of the stratification system, and not rejection of it.

The problem to be faced in New Zealand is a similar one to Iceland. The composition of the society must be investigated more fully than has previously been the case if the social structure is to

become clear. There are already indicators that this is taking place (see Pitt (ed.), 1977), and this study proposes to investigate one of the many components of social structure, the awareness of children within the society to the stratification system.

Rather than attempt to define the parameters of stratification, the existence of stratification, or whether such concepts as "class" can be applied to New Zealand, this thesis proposes to investigate whether children are 'aware' of stratification, and whether this awareness effects their view of people within New Zealand society. Instead of becoming embroiled within the controversy of which theory best analyses the strata of a society, or which model best explains the reasons behind stratification, social stratification will be defined in the broad terms of Parsons (1964). Here social stratification is defined as "a systematic hierarchy of social positions, whose occupants are ranked as superior, equal or inferior, to one another in socially important respects" (p.69).

Using this simplified definition the relevant literature from overseas studies will be reviewed, investigating the variables important in the development of stratification awareness and stratification beliefs in children. Attention will be drawn to the lack of suitable previous investigation in this area in New Zealand research. The findings of the overseas studies will be taken into consideration with the proposal to investigate the ability of New Zealand children to stratify along New Zealand adult classifications. Being exploratory in nature, the investigation necessitated the development of testing procedures enabling empirical analysis. For this purpose a Picture Test has been standardised to the New Zealand setting, and a Projective Story-completion task has been adapted to investigate the evaluations of children's stratification awareness.

# CHAPTER II

## A REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE ON CHILDREN'S AWARENESS TO STRATIFICATION.

### I. EVIDENCE DISCOUNTING 'WORK TRAUMA'.

The learning and development of a society's stratification structure was once considered due to the result of an adolescent entering the work-force and discovering that different occupations receive different privileges and status. From this starting point the adolescent was able to construct a strata system of the society, based on the experience of what he sees around him. This was the viewpoint held up until the mid-1960's, until sociologists became more accepting of social psychological research findings. Davies (1965) considered awareness of class, demonstrated as existing long before a person enters any work situation, as an important factor in stratification beliefs, and the work with children as holding the key to understanding adult concepts of stratification.

The evidence for the failure of 'work trauma' to adequately explain stratification beliefs had been accumulated over some years, usually from research fields of related interest. Ironically, the first study on occupational prestige which was carried out with school-children as subjects demonstrated the lack of 'work trauma' as a basis for stratification beliefs. Part of the problem may be that occupational prestige research now deals with adult populations, investigating differences between segments of any one society and comparisons between societies. Counts (1925), however, began this work with schoolchildren, and had his subjects rank occupations on the basis of a "most looked up to" criterion. While the definitional procedure may have been vague, Counts found amazingly high coefficients of

correlation between pupils of five classes and a control group of teachers when they ranked 45 occupations. Although there was little intensive breakdown of the data, the results suggested that differences in social background, the occupational futures of the children (as defined by Counts), or the residential area of the children, had little effect on their judgements. Rather disappointingly, Counts was satisfied with concluding that the study had found some interesting results which would be important for vocational guidance.

In a review of the previous twenty-five years of research into occupational prestige Davies (1952) points out that children had been used in only two other studies, while the research into occupational prestige had abounded with diversity. Nietz (1935) and Deeg & Paterson (1947) were concerned with the stability of prestige rankings over time, and had subjects rank occupations to test the stability of the original findings of Counts. Nietz (1935) put a slightly shortened Counts' list of occupations to schoolchildren in 1928, 1932, and 1934, and all of them produced a ranking broadly equivalent to Counts' subjects. This procedure was repeated by Deeg & Paterson (1947), using only 25 occupations from the original list, with no marked changes from the original findings.

From these early studies the research into occupational hierarchies diversified into adult rankings, comparisons between college students and labourers, high school students and undergraduates, as well as investigation into some of the parameters involved in the study of prestige and the number of occupations needed to test hierarchical scaling. One important consideration is that the use of occupational prestige was seen as a stratification mechanism. In the introduction to his review, Davies (1952) states that the "usefulness of such a scale as a research instrument in the study of social mobility and in the task of defining (and ascribing groups to) social strata, has been repeatedly stressed" (p.134). At the same time Davies points out problems of

public acceptance of such scaling techniques, definitional problems over what is 'prestige' and what it differentiates, as well as whether one can justify lumping all occupations together and forming hierarchical structures from them. However, Davies fails to consider that the similarity between children and adult rankings of the same occupations held any importance.

The similarity between rankings occured again, when Taft (1953), in Australia, found an average coefficient of correlation at 0.95 when adolescents and adults ranked 20 occupations. His adolescent sample was composed of three separate groups; an urban school group, young visitors to a University Science Exhibition, and students from a rural coal-mining centre. These samples would have been considered different enough to have yielded differences in the resulting occupation rankings, but the lowest sub-sample correlation, for rural youth, was at 0.92. When the results were compared with Deeg & Paterson's (1947) American youth findings, a correlation of 0.90 was found between 11 identical or similar occupations.

In addition to research which dealt with occupational rankings as a minor part of the investigation or further investigated parameters of ranking (Centers, 1950; Weinstein, 1958; Gunn, 1964), the work by Middleton (1954) and Polis (1962) found conclusive evidence that stratification beliefs are formulated by youngsters before they enter the work force. Middleton (1954) had 11-year old subjects rank 35 occupations on a five-point scale, finding high agreement among them and similar rankings to their parents. Variation seemed to depend more on the child's values towards his preferred occupation, and not on variations in individual status and the occupation. Polis (1962), investigating social class and the effects of voting behaviour, found that 95 per cent of his 13-year old sample could say what social class they belonged to, although this was beyond a third of a group two years younger. In Davies' opinion, the evidence to date, especially the Polis

findings of class schemes being prevalent in 13-year olds still at school "somewhat reduces the urgency of investigating early work traumas" (p.25). Investigation should be directed into the learning of social concepts and the acquisition of the terms used by a society to define its stratification system.

## II. EVIDENCE SUPPORTING THE DEVELOPMENT OF STRATIFICATION AWARENESS.

While discounting 'work trauma' as the basis for stratification beliefs, Davies (1965) nevertheless failed to record the research to date which had shown that stratification beliefs are a developmental process. The first major investigation directed at the awareness of children to the stratification structure was that of Stendler (1949), who was concerned with the use of symbols of "class" in the United States of America, whether these were used by children, and to what extent they followed adult lines. Using schoolchildren from Grades 1, 4, 6, and 8, the subjects were interviewed twice. The initial interview enquired into out-of-school activities, and the composition of their choice of friends. In the second interview the children were asked to rate four sets of pictures, which illustrated jobs, houses, clothing, and recreation. All of these illustrations had been previously ranked by three adults as representing "upper-middle class, white-collar class, or working class" (p.29). In addition to the rating of the pictures, the young subjects were also asked to rate their own position in the social class structure, and the position of their classmates. A Guess-who test, containing questions designed to evaluate social class symbols, was also put to the children.

The generalisations Stendler drew from her findings were extremely important. Firstly, she contended that the awareness of social class symbols develops gradually over a period of years, and there was no definite time period in which awareness manifests itself in children.

Secondly, that although the trend in general is upward, there is much overlapping between the grade levels in the children's awareness of social class symbols. Finally, the growth in awareness of symbols of social class is a part of the whole developmental process, it is not a separate and disparate learning process, but is interwoven with, and dependent upon, membership of a social stratum and the learning of the expected behaviours within that stratum.

Awareness of social class symbols progresses through separate periods, though these do not have concrete boundaries. Stendler considered that the first stage is a pre-awareness period, since children are not born aware of social differences. This could last up until Grade 4 (age 9-years). The three other stages begin with the awareness of class structure, the acceptance of adult stereotypes, and finally the recognition that there are individual differences among children, regardless of social class. This process was conceived as a continuation from pre-awareness to full awareness on adult lines of class structure. Children classifying individuals into a class structure, based on the individual's personal qualities and merits, is a latter part of the development. The early classification by children is based on a rich-poor dichotomy.

In addition to the age effect in children developing awareness of class symbols, Stendler also found that age is related to children's awareness of their own social position; the older the child the more accurate the self-assignment of class. This also applies to the rating of fellow schoolchildren, the basic criterion for assigning altering with age. The initial criterion was a judgement of whether or not the child is clean or dirty. At a later stage this alters to where the child lives or the house size, with Grade 8 (age 13-years) children using the occupation of the father, clothes, manners and family connections as the reasons for deciding the class of a fellow schoolchild.

Stendler also found some sex and class differences among her

subjects. Boys were considered the more aware in the earlier grades, but were surpassed by girls in the sixth and eighth grades. The class that a child belonged to also had an important effect, as a hierarchical order of upper-middle class, white-collar class, and then working class, was formed when the ratings of the pictures was considered, with the working class children being less conscious of social strata symbols. Attitudes to other classes also changed, moving from a halo effect in favour of the "rich", to a more stereotyped position, holding that the rich are not as honest as could be expected.

Centers (1950) investigated the beliefs of adolescents in order to determine the nature and extent of their class membership feelings. Using a questionnaire survey and involving the entire population of a single U.S. High school, the results were analysed to determine the effect that parental occupation, age, school grade, sex, and parental union membership has on class identification. Centers found that class awareness, as manifested in self-identification with some social class, closely approximates that of adults in relation to occupational stratification. The effect of this approximation to adult stratification beliefs was most significantly related to the maturity of the subject, as indicated by age. Identification with a higher stratum than the one they belonged to was more prevalent amongst younger subjects. A sex difference was found, in that girls tended to consistently identify with a higher stratum than did boys, though there was no difference in relation to parental occupation level. Only white-collar workers' children were influenced by their parents belonging to a union, and that influence was to increase their identification with the working class. These findings are contrary to the belief that adolescents attain awareness of stratification structures after starting work, and indicated to Centers that the processes of stratification, although seldom part of the speech or actions of the society, are nevertheless acquired early in the social development of the individual.

Himmelweit, Halsey & Oppenheim (1952) came to a similar conclusion in the United Kingdom. They considered that class distinctions form so much a part of daily experience that adolescent boys acquire strikingly similar views to those of adults before they enter the work force. Even though sixty per cent of their 13-14-year old sample of boys claimed they did not understand the term "social class", the boys demonstrated, in their replies to a questionnaire, an understanding of the social class system. Having held age constant, by using one age group, Himmelweit et al. were able to show that the type of school the pupil attended played an important part in the way boys view society. Their Grammar (ie. selective) School pupils more closely approximated adult stratification beliefs than did their Modern (ie. non-selective) School pupils. The effect that class played was shown when upper-middle and middle-middle class boys from the two types of school were compared. The more conservative Grammar School middle-class boys more closely approximate adult stratification beliefs than did the Modern School pupils.

An open-ended interview format, based around ten basic questions on occupational ratings, was used by Weinstein (1958) in a study of children in the U.S. Using several age groups, based on school grade, Weinstein found a progressive development in awareness of stratification. The subjects in the higher grades are not only more aware of more factors basic to stratification, but they deal with them more abstractly and draw far more complex relationships among them. Using status level, as defined by the status level of the school, it was found that responses in children reflect those of adults from the same status level. Lower status children emphasise monetary gain or worth in an occupation, whereas the upper status children place emphasis on service and community value. This difference in status level was found to widen as the children got older, Weinstein proposing that this would finally reach the recorded adult responses relating to status level. An important finding was that children were able to deal quite adequately with an abstract

system of stratification, discussing occupations, reasons for stratification and the basis for stratification, when they were not tied to specific persons or a concrete locality. This finding emphasises the ability of children to develop and deal with such concepts as stratification without formal education on the subject, contrary to earlier views.

The ability to grasp conceptualised situations was well illustrated by Danziger (1958), when Australian children showed a developmental procedure in the learning of economic concepts. This developmental sequence was supported by both an age related factor between types of replies to economic questions, as well as a developmental sequence moving from the simple reply to the more complex. Danziger hypothesised that the stages in the development of economic concepts in children are analogous to those earlier found in kinship groups (Danziger, 1957) and could in fact be characteristic of the development of social relationships in general. Interestingly, the four stages that were distinguished in the development of economic concepts correspond with those isolated earlier by Stendler (1949). These move from the pre-awareness stage, where the child has no conceptualisation of economic terms, to a period where concepts represent isolated acts, which later combine to form isolated relationships. Eventually the child reaches the stage where he is able to combine these previously isolated relationships, enabling the formation of a conceptualisation of economic relationships.

Himmelweit et al's (1952) finding of differences between the replies boys give to a direct question on social class and information obtained from investigation of their understanding of social class led Jahoda (1959) to develop a specifically constructed pictorial test to explore the perception of social differences. Jahoda found there was an improvement in accuracy of social perception with increasing age, as well as significant sex and status differences. The status differences were found to be a consequence of the association between intelligence level and status, status differences disappearing when intelligence level was

held constant. The sex x status interaction was found to be the result of middle class boys scoring lower, and working class boys higher, than did girls in the same status level. In analysing the verbal replies children gave, Jahoda contends that children build up a conceptual framework regarding social differences, based primarily on occupational divisions. These are linked with differences in wealth, income, and, to some extent, with style of life, later in the development process.

The development of notions of occupational stratification along adult lines was further supported by the findings of Gunn (1964), who also found a developmental pattern in the learning of concepts associated with occupational prestige. Boys from Grades 1 through to 12 were asked to rank 11 occupations, to rate their father's job, and to rate the job they intended to have, giving reasons for their rankings. In addition to the development along adult lines of ranking, Gunn also found that the boys developed adult prestige concepts. In the early phases the prestige of an occupation was based on the boys picking out the 'best' job, the one they liked, and all the other jobs were ranked 'the same'. In Grades 1 and 2 boys typically quoted father's occupation as the "best", though this had changed by Grade 3. By Grades 4 to 6 the boys began ranking in terms of service rather than in personal terms, with the development of adult lines in ranking, firmly held by Grade 7. The knowledge of the term "social classes" began in Grade 7, with more fully explicit language as the boys got older, as Himmelweit et al. (1952) had found, indicating that American children are able to stratify without full knowledge of the concepts or terminology involved.

By emphasising that 'work trauma' was not the origin of stratification beliefs in children Davies (1965) set the focus for investigation at a pre-work age, and called for greater detailed examination of the opinions and attitudes of pre-work subjects. This was certainly the approach taken by Connell (1969), who interviewed children from 5- to 16-years old on their attitudes to class. Young children (5- to 8-years

old) develop a system of stratification, starting with an initial stage, the "stage of dramatic contrast", where contrast was between wealth and poverty. Using their own terminology, children of an older age group (8- to 12-years old) insert an intermediate class between the rich and the poor, and usually include themselves within this category. Finally, a true class scheme is constructed (12- to 16-years old), when the divisions are seen as having distinctive attributes. Underlying this awareness is the use of what Connell refers to as 'free-floating information'; that is, information available to all, regardless of their position and social relationships. Children were seen by Connell as developing the three stages of awareness through their direct observation of the outside world, previously referred to by Centers (1950) and Himmelweit et al. (1952), when they drew attention to the lack of formal education on stratification, yet surprisingly well-informed children.

Tudor (1971) considered children's awareness of stratification as being composed of three dimensions; a cognitive dimension, a behavioural dimension, and an evaluative dimension. Using a pictorial method, utilising photographs, 216 U.S. children in Grades 1, 4, and 6 were tested on the three dimensions of awareness. The cognitive test, the simple perception or recognition of social differences, showed that age and sex were significantly related to performance, with girls performing higher than boys. On the behavioural test, recognition that behavioural differences are linked to cognitive cues, performance was significantly related to age, social class, and IQ. Middle class children performed better on this test, followed by lower class children, and finally upper class children. The effect of IQ was that the high IQ children outperformed those with a lower IQ. The evaluative test, concerning the attachment of evaluations (good or bad) on the basis of cognitive cues, showed no significant results. The use of dimensions of awareness enabled a better evaluation of the results. Tudor pointed out that Stendler (1949) used a "behavioural" dimension, which led her to the conclusion

that first-grade children were not yet dealing with social class. Jahoda (1959) came to the opposite conclusion, using a "cognitive" measure which tested for perception of social differences. While an earlier evaluation of the two results would have been to contend that children in the U.K. become aware of stratification at an earlier period than do their counterparts in the U.S., Tudor considers that the differences in the testing mechanisms, testing different dimensions of awareness, were responsible for the results. The behavioural dimension of awareness was shown in Tudor's study to begin at the same period that Stendler had earlier claimed was the beginning of class awareness. By investigating the cognitive dimension, however, Tudor was also able to show that American children are equally aware of stratification, as suggested by Jahoda's results in the U.K.

Simmons & Rosenberg (1971) investigating children's perception of occupational prestige and differences in income, found that even young children (Grade 3) had developed types of status awareness that would facilitate occupational striving to the more prestigious occupation levels. This awareness of more prestigious occupations was further emphasised by a large number of older students remaining optimistic about their own personal chances of acquiring these desirable jobs. Simmons & Rosenberg found that awareness of stratification was more sharply developed amongst the more privileged students, though this was considered the result of the Baltimore school system, rather than the result of class differences as a whole. More realistic attitudes to the placement on the occupation stratification hierarchy was facilitated by an increase in age. Younger children were found to deny their father's occupation categorisation of lower class, even though they were aware of a history of father's unemployment.

Another study investigating components of occupational status was that of Lauer (1974), who found stable occupational status rankings among U.S. schoolchildren. By Grade 2 the subjects were well socialised

into accepting stratification and ranked occupations accurately and in line with adult values. Legitimation of ranking took place by Grade 4, with different emphases being used, dependent upon the subject's religious background. Children from Catholic schools placed an increasing emphasis on income and a greater emphasis on the function of the work involved, while Public schoolchildren placed an increasing emphasis on the ability needed to take up the occupation and a greater emphasis on income.

Baxter (1976) investigating the prestige component of occupational hierarchies, and the rewards associated with occupations, found that age was the most consistent variable in approximation to adult patterns. Twelve occupations were evaluated by 201 Canadian school-boys, aged 9-years to 18-years, from both blue- and white-collar backgrounds, based on father's occupation. Although this perception of occupational prestige was shown to be significantly related with increasing age, there were no significant results between occupation rewards and age, or between rewards and social class.

One of the few cross-cultural studies, by Stern & Searing (1976), compares the stratification beliefs of English and American adolescents. Although social class is considered a more obvious feature of English society, it appears to be the American adolescent who shows more awareness to stratification. Based on the results of a questionnaire survey, Stern & Searing found that American adolescents are more aware of inequality, and acquire the outline of their society's stratification system earlier. Rather than consider the obvious symbols of stratification as the measures of possible awareness, Stern & Searing believe that where class lines are indistinct and equality the social philosophy, the upward mobility striving and aspirations for this mobility intensify the adolescent's alertness to the stratification phenomena.

## III. NEW ZEALAND STUDIES.

Research into the stratification of New Zealand society is rather limited. Baldock (1969, 1971) carried out descriptive overviews and some critical analysis of the studies conducted to that date, drawing on less than forty studies. The main areas of research have been in the field of occupational stratification, and the little research carried out in this field has relied on adults as subjects. Some research has centred around the creation of a socio-economic index (Havighurst, 1954; Milne, 1958; Mitchell, 1962; Baldock, 1968, 1969; Elley & Irving, 1972, 1976); or around the formation of prestige rankings and their correlates, (Congalton, 1953; Congalton & Havighurst, 1954; Vellekoop, 1966; Croy, 1968).

There still remain great discrepancies in the research into stratification and the ability to utilise some of the earlier findings in present day research. There has been increased activity from a theoretical approach, (see Pitt, 1977), the development of which is usually the stimulation prerequisite for research activities. Baldock & Lally (1974) had earlier pointed to the outstanding deficits in research knowledge, especially in the fields of inequalities, power, and social mobility. They consider that the delay in developing some fields, such as prestige, renders earlier findings out of date, and point out the need for further diversification of research, into bureaucracy and meritocracy, and the need for general research to fill in the gaps of information.

Pitt (1977) draws similar conclusions. There has been work in the general fields of status and prestige, but few analyses of the relationship between class and power, and very little on the nature or existence of power elites. The results from the studies regarding life styles, attitudes and expectations are considered by Pitt to be inconclusive, brought about through vagueness in conclusions or improper usage of overseas models. All the authors collected within Pitt's

volume agree that social differentiation within the New Zealand setting is a reality, and support their contention with a great deal of empirical research findings, generally historical in nature.

One of the areas where research has certainly been lacking is in children's awareness to stratification. The one study carried out in New Zealand was by Congalton (1952), and considered the class consciousness of 100 adolescent school-boys, aged between 16-years and 17-years. Initially a group of 95 boys were requested to write essays on two questions, without reference to other people or books; (1) What do you understand by "social classes"?; (2) Do you think that there is such a thing as "class distinction" in New Zealand? The consensus of the answers was that social classes exist in New Zealand, although to what degree, how many, their basic characteristics, or their boundaries were not fully explained.

From the results of the essays a questionnaire was formulated, with a large range of questions, allowing more detailed examination of the areas highlighted in the essays. A sample of 100 boys answered the questions, and from the results Congalton concluded that both groups, (the essay group and the questionnaire group), displayed a well-defined awareness to social class, and used social class criteria similar to those used by adult New Zealanders. The criteria they considered most indicative of social class position are, in order of importance, wealth (income and property), occupation, titles, and residential districts. Of lesser importance, but nevertheless of definite value as social class criteria, are (in decreasing order of importance) speech habits, etiquitte, newspaper reading habits, politics, church affiliation, intelligence, and radio listening habits.

Congalton had considered approaching the task from two angles. The first was to investigate whether New Zealand adolescents are aware of and use a pattern of class distinction, while the second task was to ascertain the nature of this awareness of social class. Using individual

profiles, Congalton concluded that within each individual there was a pattern of social class awareness, although the social classes are not seen as rigidly defined. The nature of stratification awareness takes the form of firmly held criterion in the formation of social classes, as indicated above.

Although this study is important in indicating that New Zealand adolescents are aware of social stratification, and are able to use social stratification in terms of adult usage, the study's value is rather restricted. It does suggest that 'work trauma' is not the basis for any stratification scheme in New Zealand, since the sample of boys were all attending school at the time of testing, and it does show a high degree of terminology usage in adolescents, but it made no attempt to investigate the development of stratification awareness. A further problem, as Baldock & Lally (1974) point out, is that the study is now rather dated and perhaps not fully applicable to the present day.

# CHAPTER III

## HYPOTHESES, PARAMETERS AND EXPERIMENTAL VARIABLES.

### I. HYPOTHESES.

Quoting Hansen (1969), Collette (1973) points out that the New Zealand notion of equality "has developed from an idea of equal opportunity to the idea that men should be equal in all phases of life at all ages, in rewards as well as opportunities" (p.61). Should this egalitarian notion exist in the adult populace, even in a modified version which would deny any importance to social stratification, this view would be observable amongst the younger members of the society, the children. The first proposal is thus to investigate whether New Zealand children are aware of stratification.

Congalton (1952) has already shown that adolescents are aware of stratification. This, in addition to the studies stressing the lack of formal indicators of stratification in New Zealand (Mcleod, 1968; Collette, 1973), suggests that the development of stratification awareness in New Zealand children may take longer to develop than overseas studies have found. It is therefore proposed to investigate whether New Zealand children differ from their overseas counterparts.

Alternatively, as shown by Stern & Searing (1976), the very lack of prominent social indicators may facilitate even stronger awareness of the stratification system. The findings of Broddason & Webb (1975) in Iceland show how the egalitarian philosophy of a society can be unsupported when the stratification structure is investigated. Hence, the alternative to the proposal that lack of indicators would lessen awareness is the proposal to investigate whether New Zealand children have increased awareness of stratification from that reported in overseas studies.

The final investigation proposal is in line with the popularly held adult belief that it is possible to stratify New Zealand society, but each stratum has no special consideration or lack of consideration in terms of legal penalties. Here it is proposed to test whether children also adhere to this belief, to investigate whether New Zealand schoolchildren place any importance in social stratification.

Hypothesis Number One: That New Zealand schoolchildren will show a relative degree of egalitarianism, and will indicate this by a marked inability to stratify along the lines of the adult population.

Hypothesis Number Two: That New Zealand schoolchildren will take longer in their development to formalise social differences than the results of overseas studies show to be the case in Britain, U.S.A., Australia and Canada, and will indicate this by being less able to stratify their society than their overseas counterparts of comparable age.

Hypothesis Number Three: That New Zealand schoolchildren will stratify along adult lines at an early age and will show compatible stratification awareness with their overseas counterparts of comparable age.

Hypothesis Number Four: That New Zealand schoolchildren may be able to stratify their society in terms of status based on accomodation and dress, but will not differentiate between rankings of status in terms of legal penalties.

It is proposed, therefore, to investigate the cognitive dimension of awareness to stratification; are New Zealand schoolchildren able to recognise social differences that an adult population considers exist, and to what degree do they hold the views of their overseas counterparts? Finally, it is proposed to investigate evaluations that children may

place on different strata, and whether they perceive one stratum or more as being more greater advantaged than the remainder of society.

## II. PARAMETERS.

The following population parameters for the investigation are proposed, within which the sample of schoolchildren will be selected.

### (1) Urban.

The population to be sampled was, because of limited resoures, necessarily an urban one. Elley & Irving (1976), in tabulating the percentages of socio-economic levels, indicate that there are differences in the structure of society when comparing the urban composition and a total composition of New Zealand socio-economic structure. Since the percentages for the total population are less evenly spread, rural children may hold a different view to stratification than their urban counterpart. In the urban situation, with a more even spread of the percentages of the population within each stratum and a greater likelihood of the stratum being represented within the urban sector, the urban child may be more aware of stratification. The rural child may form a dichotomy structure between the extremes of large landowner and labourer, whereas the urban child can draw upon examples to form a stratification structure of more than two levels.

### (2) Pakeha.

As yet there are no studies on racial influences upon the New Zealand social structure, and how racial background effects assignment of class or stratification. Limited time available for study and the limited resources available precluded full investigation of this variable, and Pakeha children were chosen as subjects.[1]

(3) Two Parents.

Possible differences in perception brought about through solo-parent upbringing, or possible changes brought about through the financial strain of a solo income earner, necessitates a division into solo- and two-parent children. Again, limitations of time and resources restricted the scope of investigation, and children from two-parent homes were chosen as subjects. Additionally, it was considered unrealistic to categorise solo-mother's occupations using male categories, since female-based occupation scales do not exist. In keeping with the exclusion of children whose sole parent was female, it was considered consistent to exclude male solo-parent children, and children whose father was unemployed.[2]

Originally, it was considered desirable to ensure that all the children were born in New Zealand. However, the younger children to be tested may not have been aware of exact birthplace, including the country born in, and this difficulty would have further hindered group testing. The need to ensure a New Zealand-born sample was omitted since cultural divergence would have been minimised by the exclusion of non-Pakeha children.

## III. EXPERIMENTAL VARIABLES.

The overseas investigations into childrens' awareness of stratification have isolated four major variables. Three of these, (age, sex, and social strata), were under investigation in this study. Originally a measure of intelligence for each child was to be obtained from the school registers. However, the Canterbury Education Board disapproved of this procedure, and as there was insufficient time to include intelligence tests within the testing procedure, this variable was excluded. Jahoda (1959) had previously found a relationship

between the social status of a child and IQ, with social status differences disappearing when IQ was held constant. Tudor (1971) also found that performance within the behavioural dimension of awareness was related to IQ, with high-IQ children out-performing low-IQ subjects.

The expected findings with a New Zealand sample would be for IQ to have a marked effect on a child's awareness to stratification. Jahoda's findings show that the more intelligent children are more aware of the cognitive aspects to stratification, while Tudor's findings show that the more intelligent child is able to draw relationships between stratification and certain behavioural aspects, better than the other children in the sample. If IQ were to have an effect on New Zealand children it would be to enhance the child's awareness to the society's stratification structure.

(1) Age.

Those studies which investigated awareness and used age as a variable found that with an increase in age there was an increase in the child's ability to stratify along adult lines; (Weinstein, 1958; Gunn, 1964; Simmons & Rosenberg, 1971; Lauer, 1974; Baxter, 1976); or, with an increase in age there was an increase in the assigning of stratification symbols, class awareness, level of social perception, or use of conceptual terminology; (Stendler, 1949; Centers, 1950; Danziger, 1958; Jahoda, 1959; Connell, 1969; Tudor, 1971; Simmons & Rosenberg, 1971). To facilitate comparability with overseas investigation, three developmentally important age groups were chosen, as represented by school class level. These were Standards II and IV, and Form II, the mean ages of each school level being 9-years, 11-years, and 13-years respectively. Further to enable comparability, the span between the age groups enables age-related analysis to take place.

(2) Sex.

Differences on a sex basis have previously been found in three investigations. Stendler (1949) found that boys performed better in the early age groups, but were surpassed by girls at a later age. Centers (1950) found that girls consistently identified with higher status levels than did boys, and Tudor (1971) found that girls performed in a superior manner to boys on the recognition of social differences. The sex of the subject should therefore be considered potentially important, even though a large number of investigators have not found sex-based differences. Similarly, several studies (for example, Himmelweit, et al., 1952; Taft, 1953; Gunn, 1964; Baxter, 1976; Stern & Searing, 1976) have investigated a single sex sample, and therefore defaulted from possible sex differences in their findings.

(3) Social Status.

Concepts and terminology have tended to be used interchangably within studies. Stendler (1949) refers to the 'class' of a subject, and uses a "class" classification as a basis for this, taking into account the occupation of the father, the tradition of the family, social position of the family, and other socio-economic factors. In the majority of cases, however, when the investigator has used the term "class" and "class effects", etc., the occupational status of father has been the mechanism for facilitating stratification; (Centers, 1950; Himmelweit, et al., 1952; Taft, 1953; Jahoda, 1959; Gunn, 1964; Connell, 1969; Tudor, 1971; Simmons & Rosenberg, 1971; Baxter, 1976). While the father's occupation is not necessarily the sole mechanism in all of the above studies, other factors are used only to modify the original classification in terms of father's occupation.

There are many scales in New Zealand, based on occupational status or prestige, (Congalton, 1953; Congalton & Havighurst, 1954; Croy, 1968), as well as numerous articles and criticisms of the use and misuse of

overseas models. The Socio-economic Index, as compiled by Elley & Irving (1972) and later modified (1976), is considered the most appropriate mechanism for classifying children with reference to family occupational/social status. The revised index has increased the number of occupations it stratifies, now numbering 451, and has taken into account in its composition the medium income and medium educational requirements needed for the occupation. These were combined with the prestige of the occupation and ranked according to the combined values, forming six groupings or levels. This index is considered extremely compatible with overseas stratification of social status, for rather than consisting of a prestige scale, the index uses the socio-economic status level as a basis for its compilation. Because of the small sample size collected for this investigation, the number of socio-economic status levels had to be reduced by half, so that there were three levels instead of six. The reduction in the number of levels was carried out by combining levels 1 and 2, 3 and 4, and 5 and 6, thus enabling statistical analysis of the effect that socio-economic status of father plays in children's awareness to stratification.[3]

# CHAPTER IV

## THE EXPERIMENTAL INVESTIGATION.

### I. SELECTING AND ESTABLISHING THE TEST MATERIAL.

Tudor (1971) previously drew attention to the necessity of accuracy when awareness to stratification was under investigation, emphasising the need for greater clarity with regards to the dimension of awareness being investigated. To this end, two dimensions were chosen for investigation in this study; the cognitive dimension, and the evaluative dimension. A pictorial test was chosen as the mechanism for analysis of cognitive awareness, while an adapted version of the projective story-completion task was chosen as the mechanism for analysing evaluative aspects of awareness. With the pictorial test the major difficulty was to arrive at a test measure that was as free as possible from extraneous cues, yet attained representativeness of New Zealand social strata, while the projective story-completion task had to remain as neutral as possible in its introduction, thus ensuring that the comments and answers were the subject's interpretation of the event.

#### (1) The Picture Test.

Chapter II, the review of studies dealing with children, clearly divides previous investigation into three methods. The first method is the time-consuming, open-ended question interview, with the interviewer probing and developing the verbal responses of the subject, to arrive at a composition of the subject's view of society. This method sometimes uses the essay answer to one or more theoretical questions posed by the researcher, necessitating marking and coding. The second method is the presentation of a list of occupations to the subject, and having these ranked, generally along the lines of "importance", "earns most money",

or similar scale. The third method, that of pictorial testing, is superior to the previous two, as a means of quick, accurate testing of schoolchildren because it removes many of the disadvantages contained in the previous two methods.

In the first place, a verbally based method carries certain dangers, such as the difficulty of vocabulary, and a maturity effect. By keeping the instructions to a simple level the experimenter may arrive at a spiriously low level of performance from subjects who have a poor grasp of vocabulary, and hence bias the test in favour of older, more intelligent children, regardless of whether their awareness is greater than that of the less-verbally capable children. Correcting this difficulty by more explicit instructions leads the experimenter into offering the child cues on the test, again biasing in favour of more older, or more intelligent children.

A second difficulty is that when instructions are issued with regards ranking, cues are given as to which ranking dimension the experimenter wants. Some investigators have minimised this by asking for broad dimensions, such as "importance" (Simmons & Rosenberg, 1971; Lauer, 1974), while others have required subjects to rank along lines of "standing" or "social standing" (Taft, 1953; Gunn, 1964). Control over this difficulty through the use of written tests, such as the procedure used by Himmelweit, et al. (1952) and Baxter (1976), create a further complication. While cues are minimised and instructions set out clearly, using defined dimensions or multiple dimensions along which to scale, the ability to read these instructions further restricts the samples' lower age limit. Reading ability facilitates a minimum age of testing at around 6-years to 8-years, with the result that pre-school children are excluded from testing. A written test also contains the added difficulty of being absolutely sure that the subject really understands the question. This is easily decided upon when the answer is written out in long form, such as an essay (Centers, 1950), but difficulty arises with Yes-No or

multiple-choice answers.

Pictorial testing overcomes these problems to a large extent. The instructions are very simple, yet clear in their meaning, thereby being applicable to younger age groups of subjects. There are no vocabulary or writing/reading skills required, and yet the subjects' response is clear, with those having misunderstood the instructions being easily isolated. Since the time available for testing was limited in this study, an added advantage is that the pictorial test also avails itself to group testing, where other techniques are often restricted to a one-to-one interview basis.

And yet, despite these advantages, there are only three previous studies with a pictorial methodology. The possible reason for this is that these studies are concerned with the "awareness" of children to a stratification structure in their society, and not the detailed accuracy with which children fit into an occupational-ranking scheme. While the majority of the studies are concerned with the development of occupational ranking, Stendler (1949), Jahoda (1959), and Tudor (1971) are more concerned with problems over the symbols of class stratification and the creation of an objective "awareness" test.

Stendler (1949) stated that her use of pictures was to find out what symbols of class the children of different school grade levels might use, and how this resembled adult lines. There were five parts to the testing programme, four based on pictures, and the fifth on what adults would like children to do, in the form of etiquette. The pictures were originally cut from a wide selection of magazines current to the day, totalling over 300 in all. This number was reduced to 48 pictures, 12 in each of the four groups of tests, based on the agreed judgements of three adult raters. Only those pictures with complete agreement were used. In an attempt to remove as many cues as possible, these pictures were then reproduced in pencil sketches.

The four picture groups Stendler used were; (1) Homes, (2) Jobs,

(3) Recreation, and (4) Clothes. Each of these was divided into Upper-middle class, White-collar class, and Working class illustrations, with four illustrations for each class strata. Stratification selection was based on replies to whether the illustration represents "a lot of money, not much money, or in-between" for the younger children in her sample, with the older children using the terms "high in society, low in society, or in-between".

Jahoda (1959) stated that the rationale behind the use of picture tests was to test physical and social incongruity. This was carried out through the use of pairs of drawings, each member of which was divided into two pieces, forming a simple jigsaw puzzle. The four pieces could be put together in two different ways, both of which are physically correct, but only one combination is a socially congruent or probable picture.

There were five sets of pictures used, starting with a natural set to familiarise the subject, a combination of soccer and cricket. Using a decreasing order of difficulty, to minimise guessing, the drawings proceeded to a couple at a dining table, an old lady in the drawing room, men shaking hands, and ending with the subject assembling two "families" from drawings of two men, two women, two boys, and two girls, and then assigning them to the appropriate house they would live in. One difficulty is that there is no reported experimental basis for the selection or use of any of the drawings, except for the statement from Jahoda that the drawings were possible to combine in a "socially congruent or probable pairing" (p.162).

A much more rigorous approximation through the use of stereotypes was used by Tudor (1971). Using the work of Lasswell (1958; Lasswell & Parshall, 1961) where evidence was provided that adults use stereotypes to define social strata, a testing procedure was devised using posed photographs. Validation consisted of complete agreement on classification from 15 college students. The twelve posed photographs (three men, three

women, three boys, three girls) were considered to contain "neutral" facial expressions, in that none were smiling or crying, but according to Tudor, "there seems to be more despair in the expressions of the middle and lower class figures than in the upper class figures" (p.471). In addition, the use of apparel cues, facial cues, cleanliness, and hair styles, were considered the mechanisms for differentiating between the photographs of the figures. The test was not restricted to human figures, however, and included were photographs of houses and cars, representing the three social strata being tested.

The use of photographs has an added advantage to that of drawings, in that the subject is assigning a "person", as shown in the photograph, and hence has more human realism to children. In addition, the method of scoring used by Tudor removed the element of subjectivity that Stendler and Jahoda had contained in their work. The difficulty with the test used by Stendler was that there were large differences between items supposedly on a par, yet these differences could not be made apparent since each of the 48 illustrations was shown individually. There was no attempt at assembling composite pictures to investigate whether the four illustrations chosen as representative in fact combined to show an ideal or stereotyped picture of one stratum of U.S. society.

Jahoda alleviated this problem with the jig-saw illustrations, but the scoring procedure is based on verbal response as well as the subject's performance. The procedure was to swap the two pieces around and ask the subject if the resulting picture was possible. While it may indeed test whether the child is assigning on a random basis, as Jahoda contends, it also, unfortunately, discriminates against the shy child who may not be prepared to contradict an elder, and also necessitates the decision on what is an adequate or an inadequate answer. Jahoda reports that two independent judges agreed on 97 per cent of the performances and 92 per cent of the verbal responses, but an easier scoring method, that does not necessitate checkings should be used if possible.

The method used by Tudor offers the opportunity of a single judged answer. The test material is clear and straight forward, and the instructions are simple without releasing cues to the subject. While the scoring method does not enable the testing of random allocations along the line of Jahoda's argument, the simple scoring of one point for each correctly allocated figure leads to a more precise indication of what each subject is doing. Random answers can be checked through the use of statistical analysis.

The method proposed for the present research was to use the combination of "families" as a means of assessing the stratification views of children subjects. Instead of drawings it was proposed to use monochrome photographs, taken at random in Christchurch, as it was considered these would contain more realism to children than drawn illustrations. The scoring procedure used would be similar to that of Tudor, one point for each correctly assigned photograph, although it was proposed to use a larger sample of adult subjects for test validation. Instead of assigning the mother figure to the house and the father figure to the car (as Tudor had done), all figure and car photographs would be assigned to the house photographs, thus creating three levels of stratification, based on the chosen status level of the house.

(a) Creating The Test Material. It was considered desirable to take the photographs of the houses in an area outside of Christchurch, the testing area, to control for the possibility that either the child lived in a house that became test material, or that the house was recognised by the subjects. In addition, it was important to control such variables as height, size, number of storeys, etc., should these be the mechanisms by which divisions could be made between housing status. To control for these possibilities the houses to be photographed were to be approximately equal in size, as seen from the street, and of one storey. The town chosen as the area to photograph was Ashburton, because it is a medium sized town with a population of 15,000, substantial enough to have

developed a variety of housing styles. Two principle advantages to the selection of Ashburton were that the section size remains standard throughout the town, and there are stringent by-laws with regard to the height of resident buildings. The result of these regulations on section size and height of buildings is that the building material and style of house, rather than a variation of size, indicates the cost of the building. Local knowledge of the town was able to be put to use since the investigator had lived in the district for a greater part of his life. This enabled the selection of areas in which house-style and value were of a par, from which a selection could be photographed.

Cathedral Square in Christchurch was used as the base for the figure photographs. This area is central to Christchurch. It is surrounded by large Government Department buildings and office blocks, and on one side has the Central Post Office. All bus routes are to and from the Square, and the majority of cinema and entertainment establishments are situated either in the Square, or in close proximity. By using this area as a base it was possible to photograph a wide selection of people.

The photography procedure was relatively easily accomplished, since the Cathedral and the environs are often being photographed by tourists, and photographers acting on a commercial basis are often present. The situation from where photography took place included a wide range view of the Square and the Cathedral, sweeping across $180^{o}$ to the Post Office. The latter was important, as it enabled the photographing of business personnel who had cleared their Post Office Boxes.

It was possible to photograph a wide selection of male occupations. Many law firms have offices close to the central city areas, as well as medical and dental practitioners, accountants, and associated occupational groups. These people were particularly noticable in that they journeyed to the Post Office Boxes just before 9.00 am, and then walked on to their office or surgery. On the other end of the occupational scale, there

were a large number of labourers and manual-associated workers on nearby building sites, as well as using the public transport system.

The retail businesses are situated to the north and south of the Square. Women shopping travel across the Square, or arrive in the Square by bus or car, since car-park facilities are situated close by. A selection of clothing styles was possible using the business habits of the women involved. Well-dressed women were observable walking to their place of employment, at the same time as cleaners, etc., were on their way home. Housewives and mothers of all stratas of society were observable in the morning, while the afternoon had women with larger families of children with them. The morning, therefore, was more useful for photographing women, the afternoon more useful for child subjects.

The use of school uniforms hinders the use of photographs of children, as the uniform is usually associated with a certain school, and the child then ranked according to the status of the school he/she attends. To gain photographs of children without uniforms would have meant frequenting areas of weekend association of schoolchildren, or waiting until the school-holidays. The latter was chosen, as children frequent the cinemas and entertainments within the Square area.

Car photographs were obtained by visiting car-park facilities attatched to suburban shopping centers, and car-park facilities.

All the photographs were taken using a tripod, to arrive at clear photographs, using a 1:2/55 mm lens for the house and car photographs, and a 1:3.5/135 mm - 1:5.6/200 mm zoom lens for the figures. Figures were followed through the lens and the photograph taken when the figure filled the majority of the camera-frame, and if the subject was unaware of being photographed. People aware of the camera, possible if the area was lightly populated, tended to stare and frown, and would therefore not have made good subject material. It was desirable to have all the figures with as neutral facial expressions as possible.

In total there were 190 photographs taken of houses, cars and

human figures. Three photographs of houses had to be discarded, one being underexposed and the other two with symbols of status, a car and a boat, in prominence in the photograph. More photographs of people had to be discarded, mainly through problems of focus, since some of these photographs had been taken over considerable distance. In all, five men, four women, six girl and three boy photographs were rejected. This left a total of 169 photographs for selecting the test material from.

(b) Selecting The Test Material, Using An Adult Sample.

A sample of 30 students or student-related personnel were approached and asked to serve as subjects for the sorting of the photographs. Before the actual task the only information they received was that it was a sorting task involving some photographs the investigator had taken, and had no test characteristics, there being no right or wrong answers. The sample comprised twelve undergraduates, eleven graduates, five secretaries or typists, and two non-academic administration staff. An even number of male and female subjects were used, with a mean age of 23-years 3-months; the range of ages being from 18-years 2-months to 29-years 3-months.

Each subject filled out a small form, requesting basic information. This consisted of Name; Age; Place Born (to ensure all the sample were New Zealand born); Father's Present and Past Occupations; How many strata they considered New Zealand was divided into; What they considered were the dividing factors between strata; and Present Occupation. Half the sample completed this form before the photograph sorting, and half after completion of the sorting. The allocation to the Before or After Group was on the flip of a coin before the subject arrived for testing. (see Appendix A).

It was considered important to have New Zealand-born adults sort the photographs, to ensure that overseas guidelines of status were kept to minimum. Overseas guidelines would be impossible to eliminate, especially with mass media, such as television, playing such a prominent

part in New Zealand daily life, and perhaps it may have been considered necessary to exclude New Zealand-born subjects who had spent any period overseas. However, ensuring that the subjects were New Zealand-born was considered an adequate control on the influence that overseas guidelines may have, as any influence should be normatively spread within the sample.

The testing situation consisted of photographs set out on tables, with an alternative empty table between each photograph-bearing table. Subjects, after being invited to be seated, were read written instructions, asking then to sort the photographs into three piles, based on their considered opinion of upper, middle or lower status. (See Appendix A). The order of the photographs, (houses, men, women, girls, boys and cars), was in the same order as would be presented to the children sample. Upon completion of the sorting the subjects were requested to choose the photograph that they considered was the best representative of each pile of photographs. This enabled the selection of the best representative of each status strata to be chosen. The subject was then thanked for participating and the explanation that a test for children's perception of adult lines of stratification was given as the reason for the experimentation. The code number on the backs of the photographs, referring to the roll of film and place on that roll, were collected on specially prepared score sheets. (See Appendix A).

(c) Validation of the Chosen Photographs. The coding of the photographs proved too complex. There were too many photographs chosen as "ideal" or best representative for each status category, which produced ambiguity rather than clarity. For example, in the Men category, there were 12 photographs chosen as the best representative of Upper Status, 17 for Middle Status, and 9 for Lower Status. Each of these choices had a variety of support, ranging from a single respondent up to a third of the sample. The use of the choices, however, was pointless. Other than identifying possible choices, the results further emphasise the dangers of attempting a clear-cut analysis of what an "ideal" or stereotype is like.

The results of the best representative choices were therefore added to the choices of each section of the selection process, and the resulting choices tabled, as shown in Table I (over). In the majority of cases the choice arrived at was purely through the weight of numbers, where the photograph with the largest number of subjects selecting the photograph and placing it within a category was chosen as the representative. However, in two cases, that of Upper Status House and Upper Status Man, there were ties, and the photographs were chosen on a basis of which of the two was more clear in its presentation. As the photographs were to be used as symbols of strata in New Zealand society it was felt that the photographs that showed more clear symbols should be used. As could be expected, the choices for the Middle Status level show more variability. Upper Status choices have some respondents who consider the choice should be placed in the Middle category, while Lower Status choices have a minority choice placed in the Middle category. Middle Status choices in three cases extended over all three levels of status.

The criteria for acceptance of the illustrations used by Stendler (1949) and Tudor (1971) had both been 100 per cent agreement by the respondents. Under this stipulation only one photograph in the present investigation could have been used, that of the Lower Status car. The situation in the present study was considered to be somewhat different to the previous studies, in that the sample size was larger and would produce more variability, exaggerated through the use of "natural" subjects in the photographs, instead of posed actors. The sample used to categorise the present photographs was ten times that used by Stendler, and double that of Tudor. Smaller numbers of subjects allowed the previous authors to exact more stringent levels of acceptance. As the majority of the photographs held over 75 per cent agreement on their classification, two further methods of validity were chosen. The first was to use Chi-square to check on the significance levels of the photograph allocations,

TABLE 1: DISTRIBUTION OF ADULT SAMPLE'S SELECTION OF PHOTOGRAPHS CHOSEN TO REPRESENT EACH STATUS LEVEL, EXPRESSED BOTH AS THE NUMBER OF SUBJECTS (N), AND AS A PERCENTAGE ACROSS EACH CATEGORY. (N = 30)*

| PHOTOGRAPH CHOSEN AS BEST REPRESENTATIVE OF; | FREQUENCY OF CHOICE | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | UPPER STATUS | MIDDLE STATUS | LOWER STATUS |
| HOUSES | | | |
| Upper Status | (26) 86.67 | (4) 13.33 | |
| Middle Status | | (28) 93.33 | (2) 6.67 |
| Lower Status | | (1) 3.33 | (29) 96.67 |
| MEN | | | |
| Upper Status | (23) 76.67 | (7) 23.33 | |
| Middle Status | (8) 26.67 | (22) 73.33 | |
| Lower Status | | (4) 13.33 | (26) 86.67 |
| WOMEN | | | |
| Upper Status | (24) 80.00 | (6) 20.00 | |
| Middle Status | (4) 13.33 | (23) 76.67 | (3) 10.00 |
| Lower Status | | (4) 13.33 | (26) 86.67 |
| GIRLS | | | |
| Upper Status | (22) 73.33 | (8) 26.67 | |
| Middle Status | (2) 6.67 | (23) 76.67 | (5) 16.67 |
| Lower Status | | (4) 13.33 | (26) 86.67 |
| BOYS | | | |
| Upper Status | (22) 73.33 | (8) 26.67 | |
| Middle Status | (3) 10.00 | (25) 83.33 | (2) 6.67 |
| Lower Status | | (4) 13.33 | (26) 86.67 |
| CARS | | | |
| Upper Status | (26) 86.67 | (4) 13.33 | |
| Middle Status | (5) 16.67 | (25) 83.33 | |
| Lower Status | | | (30) 100.0 |

*(All distributions were significant at $p < .001$ level.)

and the second, a testing procedure with an adult sample.

Testing by Chi-square found that the distribution of photographs proved to be significantly different, $p < .001$, for all photograph choices, and was not the result of a random allocation. This suggested that the chosen photographs represent levels of an adult stratification system, and could be used to test children's ability to follow adult lines of stratification. To ensure this was the case, and to validate the scoring procedure to be used with children, a second sample of adults were tested on the allocation of the photographs.

This second sample was smaller than the first, comprising of five male and five female students, all being undergraduates in a variety of subjects, except for one post-graduate engaged in literature research. The sample had an average age of 22-years 2-months, with ages ranging from 19-years 6-months to 30-years 10-months. The subject was seated at a table, and asked to stratify the House Photographs chosen by the former adult sample as representing three levels of status. They were then asked to place the photographs of the figures onto the house it was assumed they lived in, based on the status level they assumed the photograph represented. The presentation of the photographs was in the same order as the selection sample of adults.

In all but two cases the results were identical to those shown in Table I. The two variations were from a female who turned the Upper Status Woman and Middle Status Woman around, and a male who similarly altered the Men. In both cases they were asked the reason for their assignment, in such a manner that they were not made deliberately aware that there could be anything wrong with their assignment of the figures. The answers indicated that criteria other than status had been used in their assignment. The female replied that "the older woman would live in the upper status house, because it (the house) looked more like a retirement home, and the woman looked like she was retired." The male also used other criteria, as he stated the "I knew where the worker lived,

but the other two were randomly placed, as I was unable to decide on them. It didn't really matter to me, as both of them are examples of the materialistic consumption-orientated group - both are corrupt."

On the basis of this final testing situation, as well as the significance levels found with Chi-square, it was decided that the photographs did in fact represent levels in a New Zealand stratification scheme. It would have been more satisfying from an experimental point of view if the assignment of the test material had been in 100 per cent agreement, but the investigative nature of the design was considered to allow for some leeway in using the chosen photographs as a test for childrens' awareness to stratification. Stendler assisted agreement on the classification of illustrations through the small group involved in the rating of her pictures. Tudor had a larger sample when rating, but the use of posed photographs assisted the 100 per cent agreement, since the stereotyped figures were easier to classify.

(2) The Projective Story-completion Task.

One of the better methods of obtaining qualitative results appears to be through the use of a projective test, rather than a direct method, such as a questionnaire or self-rating scale, etc. Himmelweit, et al. (1952) have shown the danger of attempting direct measures of children's stratification beliefs.

Extensive coverage has been carried out, justifying the validity of projective techniques (Campbell, 1950; Lindzey, 1961; Knutson, 1973), as well as several investigations highlighting the usefulness of projective techniques indirect measurement, as opposed to results gained directly; (Davids & Pildner, 1958; Zimbardo & Formica, 1963; Proper, 1970). Evidence supports the findings of Campbell (1950), who concluded that projective measures usually have greater face validity than the direct measures, especially when investigating concepts of personality or social behaviour which may have an element of social disguise or faking

of responses to avoid embarassment, etc.

The method chosen for this research was that used by Greenstein & Tarrow (1970), considered to be a "semi-projective" procedure, a term borrowed from the work of Hanfmann & Getzels (1955). The term "semi-projective" refers to data-gathering techniques such as story-completion tasks, and distinguishes these from the orthodox projective techniques used in clinical practice. Semi-projective techniques typically employ less exotic and somewhat ambiguous stimili than do the orthodox projective procedures, they elicit surface psycho-cultural dispositions rather than the deep strata of personality, and closely resemble "situation tests", as described by Anastasi (1968), which place respondents "in a situation closely resembling or simulating a 'real life' criterion situation" (p.520).

Greenstein & Tarrow (1970) contend that semi-projective tests do involve the elaboration on a stimulus, unlike Hanfmann & Getzels, the originators of the term, but point out that there are two respects in which semi-projective and projective techniques differ. These differ in respect to investigating the aspect of the stimulus, rather than the entire stimulus, and the interpretation of the data at a surface (sociocultural) rather than a deep psychodynamic level.

Knutson (1973) holds the viewpoint that story-completion tasks still remain within the field of projective testing. It is her contention that a division is inconsequential, as the degree of focus varies so much between most of the orthodox projective techniques, several of which are based on ambiguity, and include many different scoring interests, all of which do not focus on a single level. While further use of the term "semi-projective" has occured (eg. Greenstein, et al., 1974; Greenstein, 1975) and is likely to continue, the term "projective story-completion task" will be used in this test to describe the testing procedure.

Regardless of the definitional difficulty, the story-completion task was considered the better medium for investigating an evaluative

dimension of awareness of stratification amongst New Zealand school-children. The advantage of this technique was the creation of rapport, while at the same time reducing dissembling or faking, a characteristic of a majority of projective techniques. Since this study was not concerned with the deep psychodynamic levels of the children, nor with their personality, the criticism of projective tests being unable to grasp these levels of personality or psyche did not apply. Of further importance was the suggestion that story-completion tasks create a wealth of data, in areas where this is not usually found. This enables the researcher to investigate varied, yet related, aspects of the field under examination, being able to hold a total picture of the responses, as well as investigate component facets of the responses.

The problem facing the projective story-completion task was to arrive at some indicators of children's stratification beliefs, without directly making them aware that this was taking place. It was decided that rather than create a series of story-completions, based on different social components, the children would be asked to complete one story, presented in three parts, allowing interpretation of the treatment each part receives.

The basic theme of the story was taken from the work of Greenstein and associates (Greenstein & Tarrow, 1970; Greenstein, et al., 1974; Greenstein, 1975), and had served as one of the devices in highlighting national differences between children. The story was that of a policeman stopping the Queen/President/President of the Republic for speeding, (depending on whether the child was from England, U.S.A., or France) and the child was asked what they thought happened next. Suitable adaption was necessary to use the story in a New Zealand setting, a Traffic Officer being more likely to stop a speeding motorist, since New Zealand differentiates between traffic and other police duties. The figure symbolic of authority thus became a Traffic Officer for the story task.[4]

A second adaptation concerned the speeding motorist. Instead of

the figurehead or political leader of the country, the speeding motorist would be named as having a certain occupation, and would therefore be the representative of that level of occupational status. Occupations from levels 1 and 2, 3 and 4, and 5 and 6 from Elley & Irving's (1976) Socio-economic Index were presented as the speeding motorist, and the interpretation that the children gave in their written accounts would be analysed. Emphasis would be placed that all motorists were doing the same speed when caught, and the story was constructed so that there were no outward indicators of differences in the manner or behaviour of the speeding motorist. To avoid possible order effects in the responses, the drivers representing each occupational status level would be presented in a random order.

(3) Setting Up The Test Material For Classroom Use.

Since testing was to take place in a classroom setting, enabling greater numbers of subjects to be tested at one time, this necessitated 40 copies of each of the photographs in the Picture Test, allowing for the possibility of large classrooms of children. The House Photographs were enlarged to 10 inches by 8 inches, and these were cellotaped to an envelope of the same size. The remaining figure and car photographs were printed on 5 inches by 4 inches paper, with the use of edging material blanking out the surrounding objects in each photograph. The status level of the Houses were renamed to avoid confusion with the three levels of socio-economic status of father. The previously named Upper level was renamed the High Status House; the Middle level was renamed the Medium Status House; and the Lower level was renamed the Bottom Status House.

The test material consisted of one large envelope (15 inches by 10 inches), upon which were printed the spaces for Date, Sex, Age, and Father's Occupation. Inside were three large envelopes with the House Photographs taped to them, five smaller envelopes with stickers on each

that labelled the contents, (one each for Men, Women, Girls, Boys and Cars), and three sheets of lined paper for the Projective Story-completion Task. Each of the pieces of paper had either the number 1, 2 or 3 stamped on the top of the sheet, and signified the order of the stories presentation, and not the status order involved in the stories. (For Test Material, see Appendix B).

The instructions for the testing procedure were typed out, with spaces being left in the Projective Story-completion Task where the occupations and names of the speeding motorists were added prior to the commencement of each testing session. A list of occupations from each of the three levels of combined strata was drawn from Elley & Irving (1976). The basis for choosing any occupation in the lists was whether all children were likely to have some knowledge of what the job entailed. In addition, a list of common names (Smith, Jones, etc.) was also drawn up, to be used in naming the speeding motorist. These names were to be used as long as no child in the class shared the same name. Alterations were carried out to the instructions with Quik Stik labels placed over the previous name or occupation, with new names and occupations written in. (See Appendix B for the Lists of Occupations and Common Names).

## II. THE EXPERIMENTAL INVESTIGATION.

### (1) Selection Of Subjects.

The Headmasters of two Primary and one Intermediate schools were contacted and a meeting was held with each to discuss the use of their pupils as subjects. In the Primary Schools the classes of Standard II and IV were chosen as encompassing the first two age groups under investigation, while Form II at the Intermediate School encompassed the third group. At Primary School A one class of Standard II and Standard IV were tested as subjects; at Primary School B two classes of Standard II and one of Standard IV were tested; and two classes of Form II were

tested at the Intermediate School.[5]

The major consideration entered into in the selection of the classrooms for testing was the necessity to gather data from children whose fathers' occupations were as varied as possible. This was to enable analysis on the influence that occupational status of father may have on the children's views of stratification.

(2) Composition Of The Sample.

A total of 195 children were tested. This number was reduced by the elimination of 10 children of non-Pakeha parentage; 3 children considered retarded, as informed by the teacher, and only temporarily in the class tested; 2 children whose father was unemployed; 5 children who stated that the mother was the sole parent; 1 child who lived with her separated father; and 1 child who claimed two fathers, both of whom lived at home with her.

Using Elley & Irving's revised Socio-economic Index (1976), the children were classified into Upper, Middle, or Lower status, depending on the socio-economic status of the father's occupation. The inability to adequately analyse the data through certain low cell sizes resulted in the necessity of approaching subjects fitting the requirements of the cell. This was similar to the situation Baxter (1976) found himself in, and since Blau (1957) has shown that sample bias has little effect on prestige hierarchies, selection of subjects to bring cell sizes up to analysable levels was justified.

Additional subjects were contacted through their parents, who were customers of a shop where the investigator was employed. The procedure was to approach parents whose occupation and children's age matched those cells with deficits. In all cases permission was given for testing to take place, at the child's home, and appointments were made through the parent. This procedure affected six children, two girls and four boys. One girl's father held an occupation in the Upper status category, and

the other in the Lower status category. Of the boys, three were in the Upper status category, and the fourth in the Lower status category. The testing procedure was the same as the classroom based testing.

The distribution of subjects is indicated in Table II. As shown, equal numbers had not been attained from each level, although there is a much more even balance between strata levels than would have been expected if the distribution had followed urban New Zealand distribution patterns. (See Appendix C). Over all of the distributions, including the break-down into sexes, there is an over-representation of upper status subjects, and an under-representation of middle and lower status subjects. The intention of the data collection had been to arrive at a cell size of 10 subjects per cell, for ease of analysis. The sample gathered was not an attempt to reflect the social distribution, but to enable analysis using father's socio-economic status. The resulting distribution as shown in Table II enabled this to be carried out. The average age for the Standard II subjects was 9-years 1-month; for the Standard IV subjects the average age was 11-years 1-month; and for the Form II pupils the average age was 13-years 2-months. This age spread of two years between each age group enabled adequate age related analysis to be carried out.

(3) Testing Procedure.

Prior to the testing a discussion was held with the teacher of the classroom to ascertain if any of the photographs in the Picture Test were of parents, pupils or siblings. With the Projective Story-completion Task the teacher was asked whether any child's father was a Traffic Officer, whether any of the chosen occupations coincided with children's fathers' jobs, and whether any of the common names to be used were that also of pupils. Alterations were made to the Story-completion instructions when coinciding material occured. The order of the motorists' occupations was also altered in a random manner before each testing, to

TABLE II: DISTRIBUTION OF CHILDREN SAMPLE OVER SEX AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS OF FATHER, WITH EACH OF THE THREE LEVELS OF FATHER'S STATUS* EXPRESSED WITHIN EACH OF THE THREE SCHOOL CLASSES TESTED.

| SUBJECTS | LEVEL OF SCHOOLING SUBJECT TESTED AT | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | STANDARD II | | | STANDARD IV | | | FORM II | | | TOTAL |
| SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS OF FATHER | U | M | L | U | M | L | U | M | L | |
| SEX | | | | | | | | | | |
| BOYS | 8 | 13 | 12 | 9 | 11 | 6 | 9 | 15 | 7 | 90 |
| GIRLS | 11 | 12 | 9 | 11 | 13 | 6 | 9 | 9 | 8 | 88 |
| TOTAL | 19 | 25 | 21 | 20 | 24 | 12 | 18 | 24 | 15 | 178 |

*Key: U = Upper status
M = Middle status
L = Lower status

(All categories of socio-economic status per Elley & Irving (1976).)

remove possible order effects.

Entry into the classroom was usually after a break in the routine, such as lunchtime. In these cases the large envelope containing the test material was placed on each desk during the break and before the children arrived back in the classroom. In the case of the two Form II classes this was not possible, and the envelopes were distributed before testing began, while the pupils were in the room. In all cases introduction was from the teacher, who then discretely withdrew to one side of the room and allowed the investigator to take control of the class.

(4) Instructions To The Subjects.

Typed instructions were read to the class. These began with an introduction of the researcher and Mr Chris McGeorge[6], assisting the data collection, and outlined that the children were to carry out a "little task....that does not have any right or wrong answers....it is just a way of seeing what people think about houses and the people living in them....and they will enjoy doing this job". (See Appendix C for full instructions.)

Simple instructions then had the children fill out the large envelope with the day's date, the sex and age of the subject, and the subject's father's occupation. In some instances assistance in the spelling of the occupation was requested, and some children needed questioning for more detailed information with regards father's occupation. All children in every class were included in the testing, with the excluded children's results being selected at a latter process.

The Picture Test instructions were formed around the child placing the House Photographs on the desk "where they can see all three clearly", and the child then took the three men photographs from the labelled envelope, and "put the man inside the house that they thought he lived in", a procedure made simpler by the fact that the subjects were able to put the Figure Photographs inside the envelopes the House Photographs

were cellotaped onto. The subject then proceeded through the remaining Figure Photographs, concluding with the Cars, which were "put inside the house that they think would have a car like that".

The House envelopes and Figure envelopes were then returned to the large test envelope, and the three pieces of lined paper removed for the Projective Story-completion Task. This was introduced as a short story, and the children were asked to write down the way they thought the story ended. Their answer to the action the Traffic Officer took to the first speeding motorist was placed on sheet number one, and the other two answers followed on sheets two and three. This enabled a check on any status-related answers. Some time was needed for the children to write their answers, and assistance was given for spelling when requested. In most cases the child simply wrote their answer in their own form of English.

Upon completion of the story answers the children were thanked for their assistance, and advised that their choices and stories would be put together with other results, thus giving the impression of anonymous answers, as well as avoiding too specific a questioning of the investigation.

The test material was reassembled between testings. A special coding form was designed, and the allocation of the Figure Photographs to each of the three houses was recorded for each subject. This was placed in the subject's large envelope for later analysis. All the Figure Photographs were returned to their respective envelopes after coding. To ease the scoring procedure the symbols "H, M and B" (referring to High, Medium, and Bottom Status Houses) were used. In addition, the coding form also had space for the recording of the order that the speeding motorists were presented in the Projective Story-completion Task.

# CHAPTER V

## RESULTS

### I. THE PICTURE TEST.

The childrens' placement of Figure Photographs in each House envelope was coded immediately after each testing session, due to the re-use of the test material photographs in the next test session. This coded data was later transformed into numerical scores using a scoring procedure of one point for each correct placement of the Figure Photographs. 'Correctness' was based on the classifications previously given to the Figure Photographs by the adult sample.

Four scores for each subject were arrived at. These were the number of correct placements for the High Status House, the Medium Status House, and the Bottom Status House, as well as a Total score of correct placements. The score range on the test was from 0 to 15, though a score of 14 was not possible, as the nature of a 5 x 3 forced-choice situation results in a deficit of two points if one allocation is incorrect.

A four-way analysis of variance with unequal cell frequencies, and with a repeated measure on the last factor (Kirk, 1968; pp. 294-298) was undertaken. Factors were Sex x Age x Socio-economic Status of Father x Status Level of House, thus being a 2 x 3 x 3 x 3 factorial design. The results are presented below in Table III, the Summary ANOVA Table.

The results of the Between Subjects differences show that Age is the most significant factor in the childrens' awareness to stratification ($F = 9.020$ $(2,160)$ $p < .001$). The increase in the Total scores, as shown in Table IV, shows that with an increase in age there is a related increase in recorded scores, showing increased accuracy to stratify

TABLE III: SUMMARY TABLE OF THE ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE

| SOURCE | SS | df | MS | F | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Between Subjects | | | | | |
| A | 0.088 | 1 | 0.088 | 0.047 | |
| B | 34.114 | 2 | 17.057 | 9.020 | *** |
| C | 1.407 | 2 | 0.703 | 0.371 | |
| AB | 14.824 | 2 | 7.412 | 3.919 | * |
| AC | 4.261 | 2 | 2.130 | 1.126 | |
| BC | 7.231 | 4 | 1.807 | 0.955 | |
| ABC | 7.329 | 4 | 1.832 | 0.968 | |
| Error | 302.663 | 160 | 1.891 | | |
| Within Subjects | | | | | |
| D | 181.720 | 2 | 90.860 | 195.398 | *** |
| AD | 4.945 | 2 | 2.472 | 5.317 | ** |
| BD | 1.885 | 4 | 0.471 | 1.013 | |
| CD | 1.837 | 4 | 0.459 | 0.988 | |
| ABD | 9.762 | 4 | 2.441 | 5.249 | ** |
| ACD | 5.404 | 4 | 1.351 | 2.905 | * |
| BCD | 6.557 | 8 | 0.820 | 1.762 | |
| ABCD | 1.515 | 8 | 0.189 | 0.407 | |
| Error | 148.721 | 320 | 0.465 | | |

Key: Factor A : Sex of subject.
Factor B : Age of subject.
Factor C : Socio-economic Status of Father.
Factor D : Status Level of House Photograph.

* $p < .05$
** $p < .01$
*** $p < .001$

TABLE IV: MEAN TOTAL SCORES OVER AGE FOR CORRECT PLACEMENT OF FIGURE PHOTOGRAPHS TO ALL HOUSE PHOTOGRAPHS.

| | MEAN AGE GROUPS | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | 9-YEARS 1-MONTH | 11-YEARS 1-MONTH | 13-YEARS 2-MONTH |
| BOYS | 29.553 | 32.988 | 37.323 |
| GIRLS | 30.379 | 35.809 | 32.984 |
| TOTAL | 59.930 | 68.797 | 70.307 |

FIGURE I: TOTAL MEAN TOTALS FOR CORRECT PLACEMENT OF FIGURE PHOTOGRAPHS TO ALL HOUSE PHOTOGRAPHS, OVER AGE GROUPS.

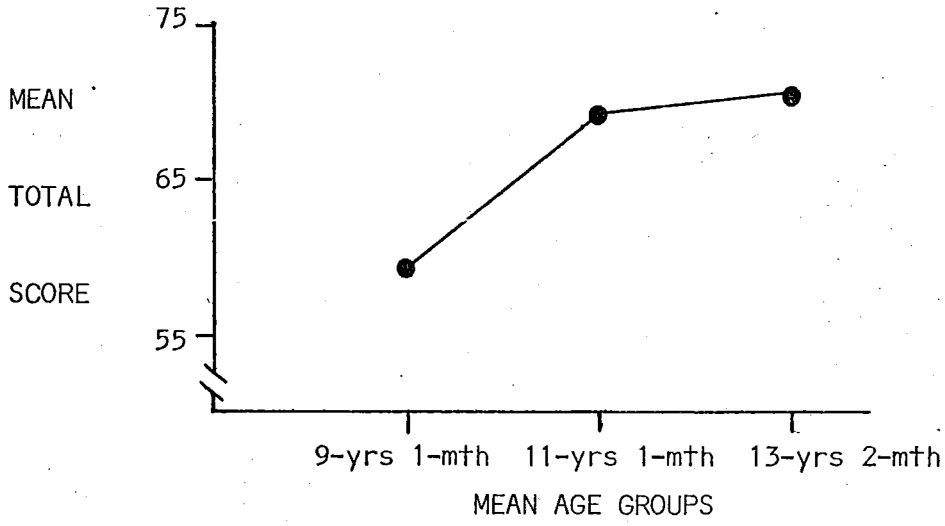
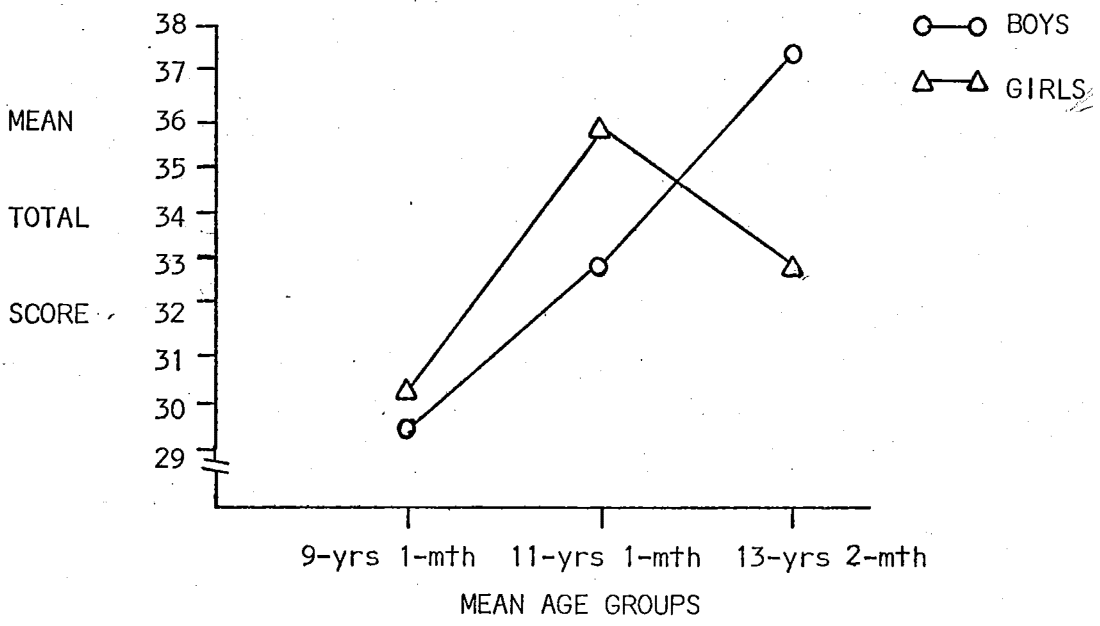



FIGURE II: MEAN TOTAL SCORES OVER SEX x AGE GROUPS FOR CORRECT PLACEMENT OF FIGURE PHOTOGRAPHS TO ALL HOUSE PHOTOGRAPHS.



along adult lines. The slight differences in Mean Total scores for ages 11-years 1-month and 13-years 2-months (68.797 and 70.307, respectively) tends to suggest that the significant difference lies between these two scores and the earlier age group of 9-years 1-month (59.930). More closer approximation to an adult classification is reached as age increases (Figure I), although this appears to be leveling out at age 13-years 2-months.

This leveling of scores is not the result of attaining the maximum total score possible (90.00), but is due to a Sex x Age interaction effect ($F = 3.919$ (2,160) $.05 < p > .01$). Figure II shows Boys more closely approximate adult classifications over age, the linear relationship suggesting eventual agreement with an adult stratification scheme. Girls score higher than their sex counterparts in the first two age groups, the differences between sexes being statistically non-significant, while the decrease in Mean Total scores at age 13-years 2-months has the effect of depressing the Total scores for this age group, creating the leveling out effect on Total scores at this age group (Figure I).

The other main effects (Sex and Socio-economic Status of Father) and all interaction effects within the Between Subjects analysis proved to be non-significant.

By far the most significant result in the Within Subjects analysis is the scores on the Status Level of House Photographs ($F = 195.398$ (2,320) $p < .001$). As Table V shows, scores for the High Status and Medium Status Houses are very similar, in both Sex and Total categories. The scores for the Bottom Status House are greatly increased, showing greater accuracy in the allocation of the appropriate Figure Photographs to the Bottom Status House; (maximum score possible = 90.00; subjects' score total = 81.240: see Figure III). A Sex x Status Level of House interaction effect (Figure IV) is brought about by Boys scoring higher than Girls on both the High and Medium Status Houses, but lower than Girls on the Bottom Status House ($F = 5.317$ (2,320) $p < .01$).

TABLE V: MEAN TOTAL SCORES FOR CORRECT PLACEMENT OF FIGURE PHOTOGRAPHS TO EACH STATUS LEVEL OF HOUSE PHOTOGRAPH.

| | STATUS LEVEL OF HOUSE | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | HIGH STATUS | MEDIUM STATUS | BOTTOM STATUS |
| BOYS | 30.706 | 29.657 | 39.501 |
| GIRLS | 29.224 | 28.213 | 41.735 |
| TOTAL | 59.930 | 57.870 | 81.240 |

FIGURE III: TOTAL MEAN TOTAL SCORES FOR CORRECT PLACEMENT OF FIGURE PHOTOGRAPHS TO EACH STATUS LEVEL OF HOUSE PHOTOGRAPH.

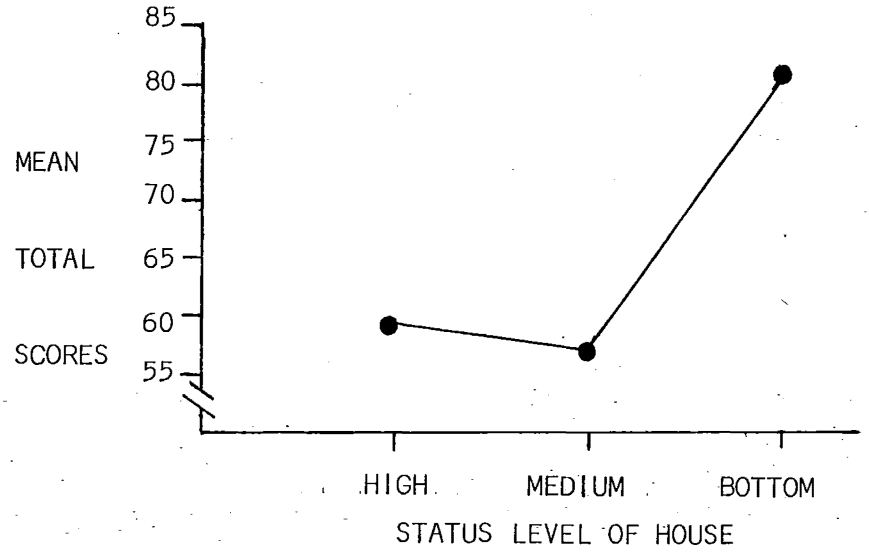
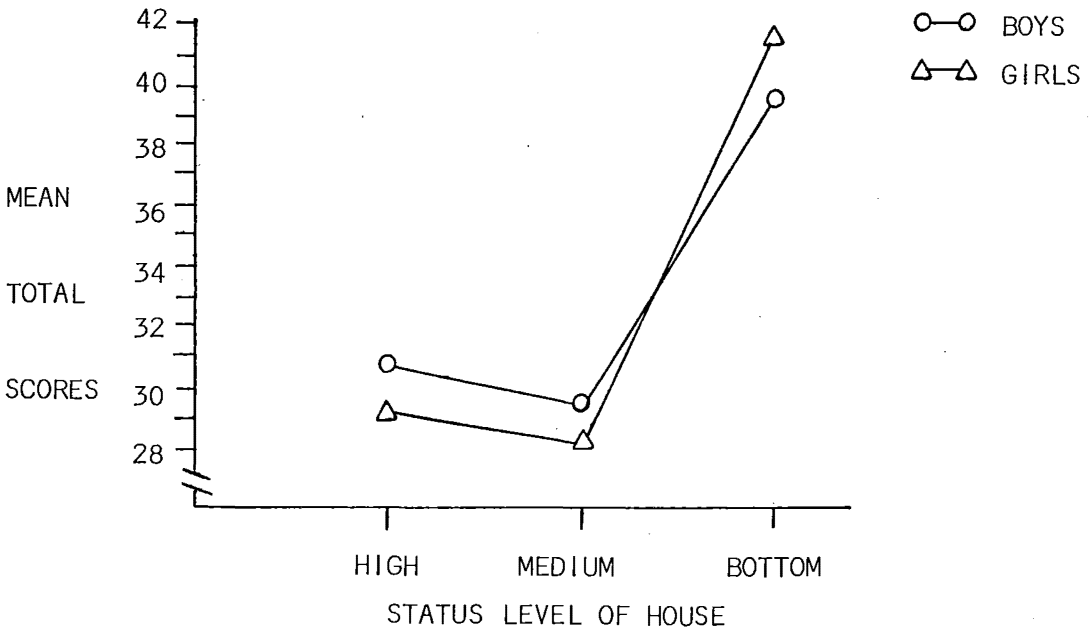



FIGURE IV: MEAN TOTAL SCORES OVER SEX FOR CORRECT PLACEMENT OF FIGURE PHOTOGRAPHS TO EACH STATUS LEVEL OF HOUSE PHOTOGRAPH.



The Sex x Age x Status Level of House interaction (Figure V) resulted from the consistently higher performance of Girls over Boys in scoring. With two exceptions, Girls obtained higher Mean Total scores than Boys of their own age group. A minor exception to this was Girls aged 9-years 1-month who obtained a slightly lower Mean Total score than Boys of the same age group for the Medium Status House. The major exception was Girls in the 13-years 2-months age group, who obtained lower Mean Total scores on both High Status and Medium Status Houses, far lower than Boy subjects. The trend for all scores, as shown in Table VI, is for decreased scores from High to Medium Status, with scores rising sharply for the Bottom Status House category.

A far more complex interaction effect has taken place between Sex x Socio-economic Status of Father x Status Level of House, although the pattern of scores remains basically the same. In respect to the Bottom Status House, the scores form two separate hierarchies. Girls score consistently higher than Boys, with a second hierarchy being formed between Upper, Middle, and Lower Status of both sexes, with the Upper Status children recording higher scores than Middle and Lower Status children (Table VII).

This is not the complete situation, however, and the interaction effect becomes most prominent when viewing Figure VI. There is both an interaction effect between Sex and Status Level of House, with Boys recording higher scores than Girls for both High and Medium Status Houses, and an interaction between Socio-economic Status of Father and Status Level of House. Under this interaction, Lower Status Boys record the highest score for the High Status House, but the lowest score for the Bottom Status House. A similar cross-over effect occurs between Upper and Middle Status Girls.

All other interaction effects proved to be non-significant.

TABLE VI: MEAN TOTAL SCORES OVER SEX x AGE FOR CORRECT PLACEMENT OF FIGURE PHOTOGRAPHS TO EACH STATUS LEVEL OF HOUSE PHOTOGRAPH.

| SUBJECTS | | STATUS LEVEL OF HOUSE | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| SEX | AGE | HIGH STATUS | MEDIUM STATUS | BOTTOM STATUS |
| BOYS | 9-yrs 1-mth | 8.903 | 8.567 | 12.083 |
| | 11-yrs 1-mth | 10.040 | 9.500 | 13.448 |
| | 13-yrs 2-mth | 11.763 | 11.590 | 13.970 |
| GIRLS | 9-yrs 1-mth | 8.973 | 8.263 | 13.143 |
| | 11-yrs 1-mth | 11.196 | 10.784 | 13.829 |
| | 13-yrs 2-mth | 9.055 | 9.166 | 14.763 |

FIGURE V: MEAN TOTAL SCORES OVER SEX x AGE FOR CORRECT PLACEMENT OF FIGURE PHOTOGRAPHS TO EACH STATUS LEVEL OF HOUSE PHOTOGRAPH.

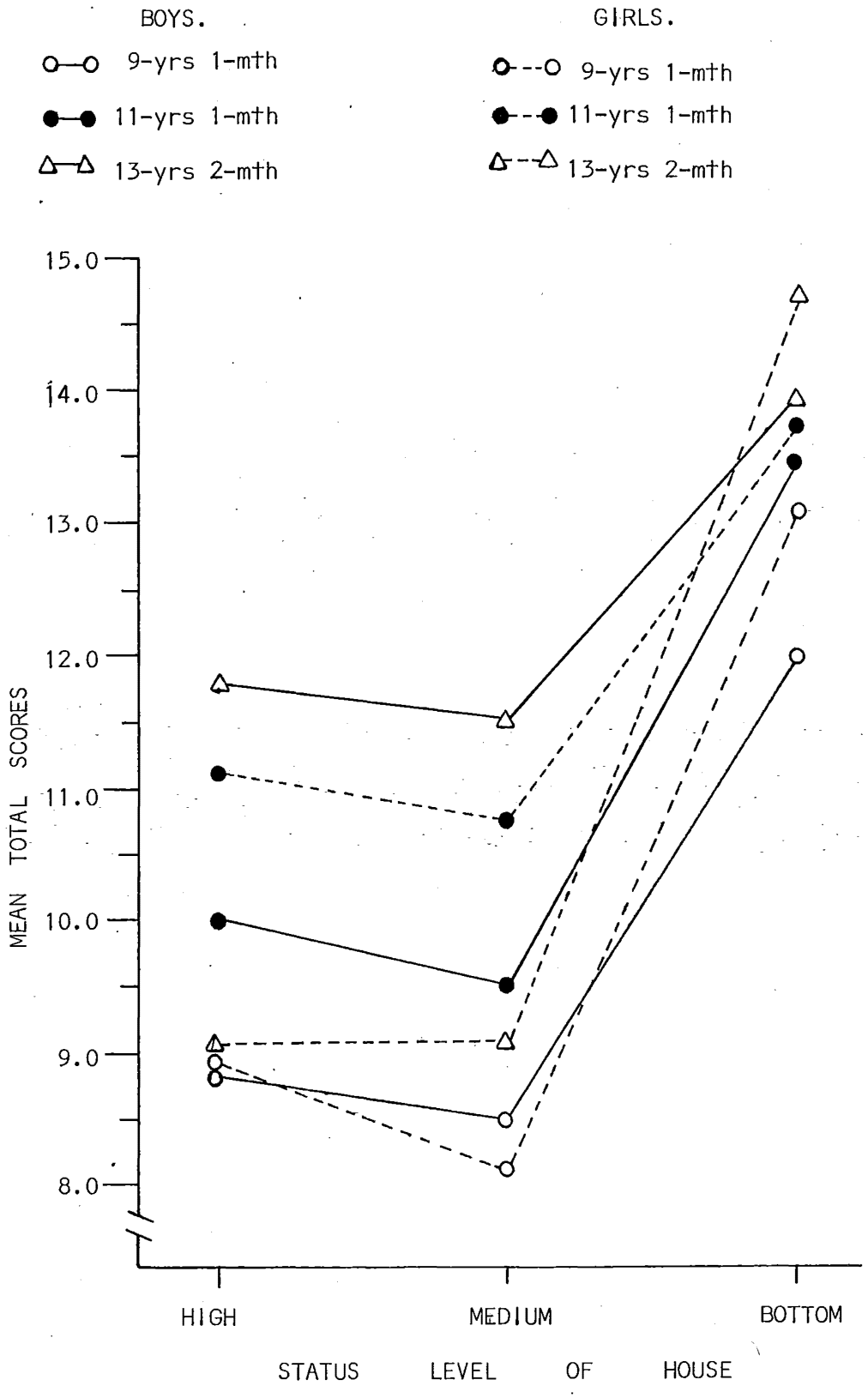
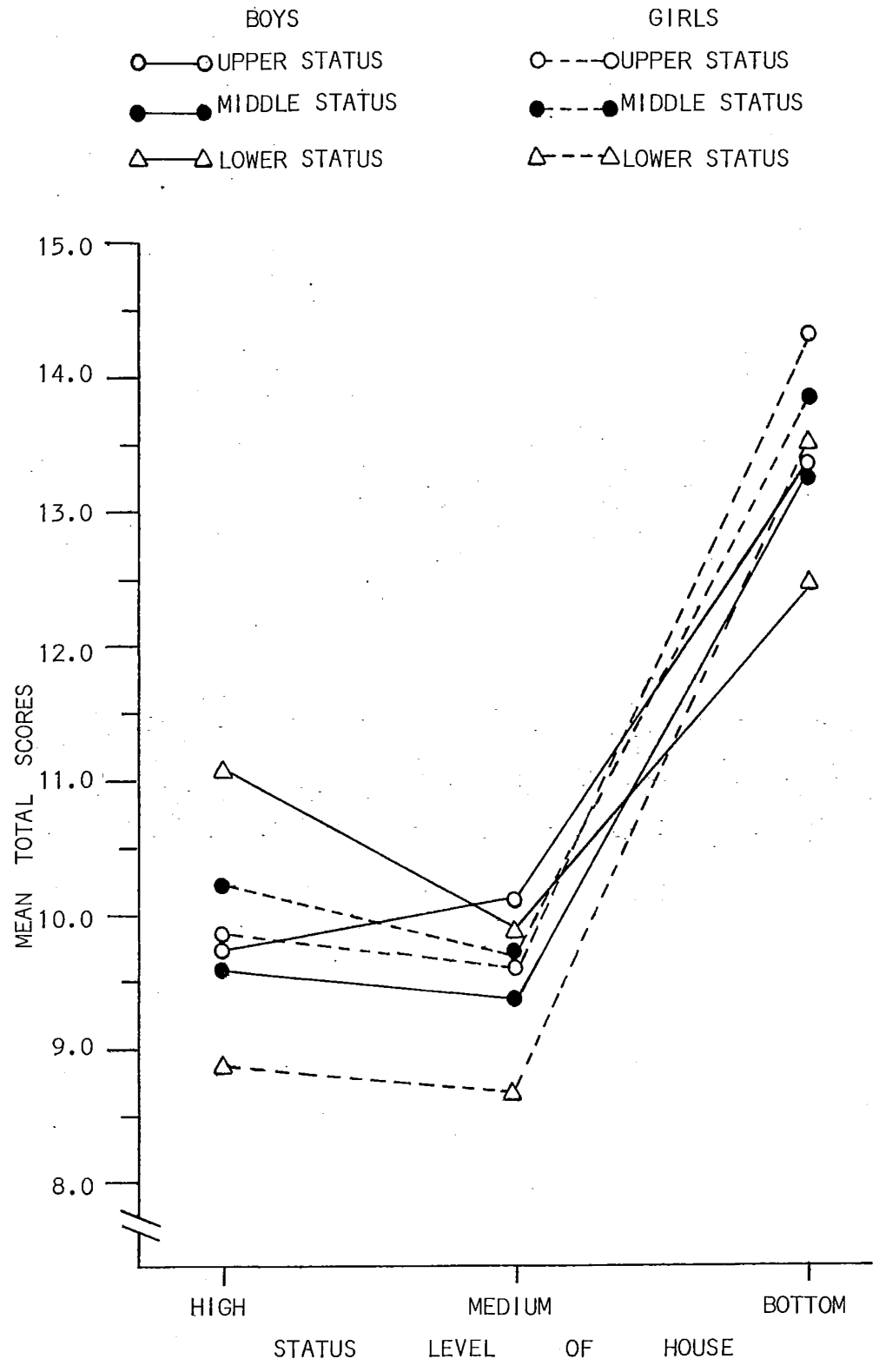


TABLE VII: MEAN TOTAL SCORES OVER SEX x SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS OF FATHER FOR CORRECT PLACEMENT OF FIGURE PHOTOGRAPHS TO EACH STATUS LEVEL OF HOUSE PHOTOGRAPH.

| SUBJECTS | | STATUS LEVEL OF HOUSE | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| SEX | SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS OF FATHER | HIGH STATUS | MEDIUM STATUS | BOTTOM STATUS |
| BOYS | UPPER STATUS | 9.86 | 10.125 | 13.471 |
| | MIDDLE STATUS | 9.704 | 9.435 | 13.460 |
| | LOWER STATUS | 11.142 | 10.107 | 12.570 |
| GIRLS | UPPER STATUS | 9.928 | 9.675 | 14.342 |
| | MIDDLE STATUS | 10.353 | 9.706 | 13.852 |
| | LOWER STATUS | 8.943 | 8.832 | 13.541 |

FIGURE VI: MEAN TOTAL SCORES OVER SEX x SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS OF FATHER FOR CORRECT PLACEMENT OF FIGURE PHOTOGRAPHS TO EACH STATUS LEVEL OF HOUSE PHOTOGRAPH.



II. THE PROJECTIVE STORY-COMPLETION TASK.

Children's completions of the stories were coded according to three criteria: (i) The interpretation of the Traffic Officer's behaviour in the speeding motorist situation; (ii) The extent and degree of punishment administered by the Traffic Officer; and (iii) Whether new material was introduced into the story.

Under the first criterion each story-completion was coded on whether the subject interpreted the situation as one involving stratification status or whether the Traffic Officer was portrayed as dealing with the speed-violating motorist as an offender, and acted without regard to the motorist's status. The story-completions were coded under the headings of "No Difference", meaning that the Traffic Officer was seen to act in the same manner to all three speed-violating motorists; and "Social Awareness", where the Traffic Officer was seen to alter his manner or punishment with regard to the status of the motorist.

All children saw the Traffic Officer as a mechanism of punishment. He was either the immediate punisher, through the administering of fines or jail sentences to at least one of the motorists, or was seen as the delayed punisher, whereby he wrote out summons for the motorists to attend court or jail. The form of punishment and the variation in the punishment of the three motorists was coded into whether there was any difference between the punishments, and the direction this punishment took. If all motorists received the same punishment these replies had been earlier coded into the No Difference category, and punishments seen to vary with the status of the motorist were included in the Status Awareness category. A division was made between those children who saw the Traffic Officer as increasing the punishment with each new offender (Progressing Punishment), and those children who saw a decreasing rate of punishment (Diminishing Punishment).

Unfortunately, the division between Progressing Punishment and Diminishing Punishment was seen to involve too few a total number of subjects to gain any significant result from the analysis. The two categories were therefore combined under the heading of "Differential Punishment", where the criterion for inclusion was that the Traffic Officer was seen to increase or decrease his punishment to the motorists in the order they arrived on the scene, and without regard for their occupational status. (Table A, Appendix D, gives the full distribution of the scores.)

The third coding criterion, involving the introduction of additional information in the story-completions, coded on the basis of which level of status was seen to result in higher regard through the additional information. Here, additional material was divided into two categories. The first was considered to be "Indirect Bias", whereby the subject's story-completion portrays one or more stratum as being treated differently by the Traffic Officer. This category is made up of the story-completions which see the Traffic Officer as exercising some form of status awareness after stopping a speed-violating motorist. "Direct Bias", on the other hand, was where the child introduced further information to the discrediting of the motorist concerned, and the child was therefore interpreted as portraying this additional information as a characteristic of the status level of the motorist concerned.

Analysis of the first two criteria was by Chi-square. Cell sizes, unfortunately, of the total data (Table A, Appendix D) proved to be too small to ensure reliability, (ie. expected frequencies of over 80 per cent of the cells should be more than 5.0), and except for the total scores for Boys and Girls, any further analysis would have been impossible, without the reduction of the data to encompass fewer cells. One way of completing this decrease in the number of cells was through pooling along two variables. This resulted in the variables Sex x Age x Socio-economic Status of Father (A x B x C) being reformed into Sex x Age (A x B), Sex x

Socio-economic Status of Father (A x C), and Age x Socio-economic Status of Father (B x C). (Tables B, C, and D, Appendix D).

While the analysis was carried out using the number of subjects within each cell (N), the resulting differences are reported as a percentage of each group, summing across the line to one hundred per cent.

(1) Sex x Age.

Individual age groups within each sex were tested for the differences recorded within each category. Table A (Appendix D) shows that the distribution of scores is vastly weighted in the No Difference category, and this finding is carried over into Table VIII, (as well as all other tables), where each age level's scores are presented. The percentage differences in each age group are shown to be significantly different, and not subject to a chance distribution. A 3 x 3 Chi-square analysis of differences within Boy and Girl subjects proved to be non-significant for Boys ($X^2$ = 8.732, d.f.4, $.10 < p > .05$), and was beyond adequate analysis for Girls, there being 55.5% of the cells with an expected frequency of less that 5.0.

Scores were totalled over age groups, regardless of subjects' sex, and a 3 x 3 Chi-square proved to be significant ($X^2$ = 10.23, d.f.4, $.05 < p > .01$; Table IX). Figure VII shows how the two early age groups have a small percentage of subjects who believe that Status Awareness would occur, compared with the 13-year 2-months age group, who show an increased frequency of this theme in their story-completions. This is contrasted with the higher percentages of subjects in the 9-years 1-month and 11-years 1-month age groups who believe that Differential Punishment would take place. The 13-years 2-months age group show a low percentage (8.8%) who believe that this would occur.

Under the above analyses the categories of No Difference, Status Awareness, and Differential Punishment are seen as being mutually exclusive categories. This is not strictly correct, as Differential

TABLE VIII: DISTRIBUTION OF STORY-COMPLETION SCORES OVER SEX x AGE, EXPRESSED AS A PERCENTAGE ACROSS EACH SEX x AGE GROUP.

| SUBJECTS | | RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN TRAFFIC OFFICER AND MOTORISTS. | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| SEX | AGE | NO DIFFERENCE | STATUS AWARENESS | DIFFERENTIAL PUNISHMENT | |
| BOYS | 9-yrs 1-mth | 60.6 | 18.2 | 21.2 | ** |
| | 11-yrs 1-mth | 69.2 | 3.9 | 26.9 | *** |
| | 13-yrs 2-mth | 58.1 | 32.3 | 9.6 | ** |
| GIRLS | 9-yrs 1-mth | 59.4 | 18.8 | 21.8 | ** |
| | 11-yrs 1-mth | 80.0 | 10.0 | 10.0 | *** |
| | 13-yrs 2-mth | 73.1 | 19.2 | 7.7 | *** |

** $p < .01$

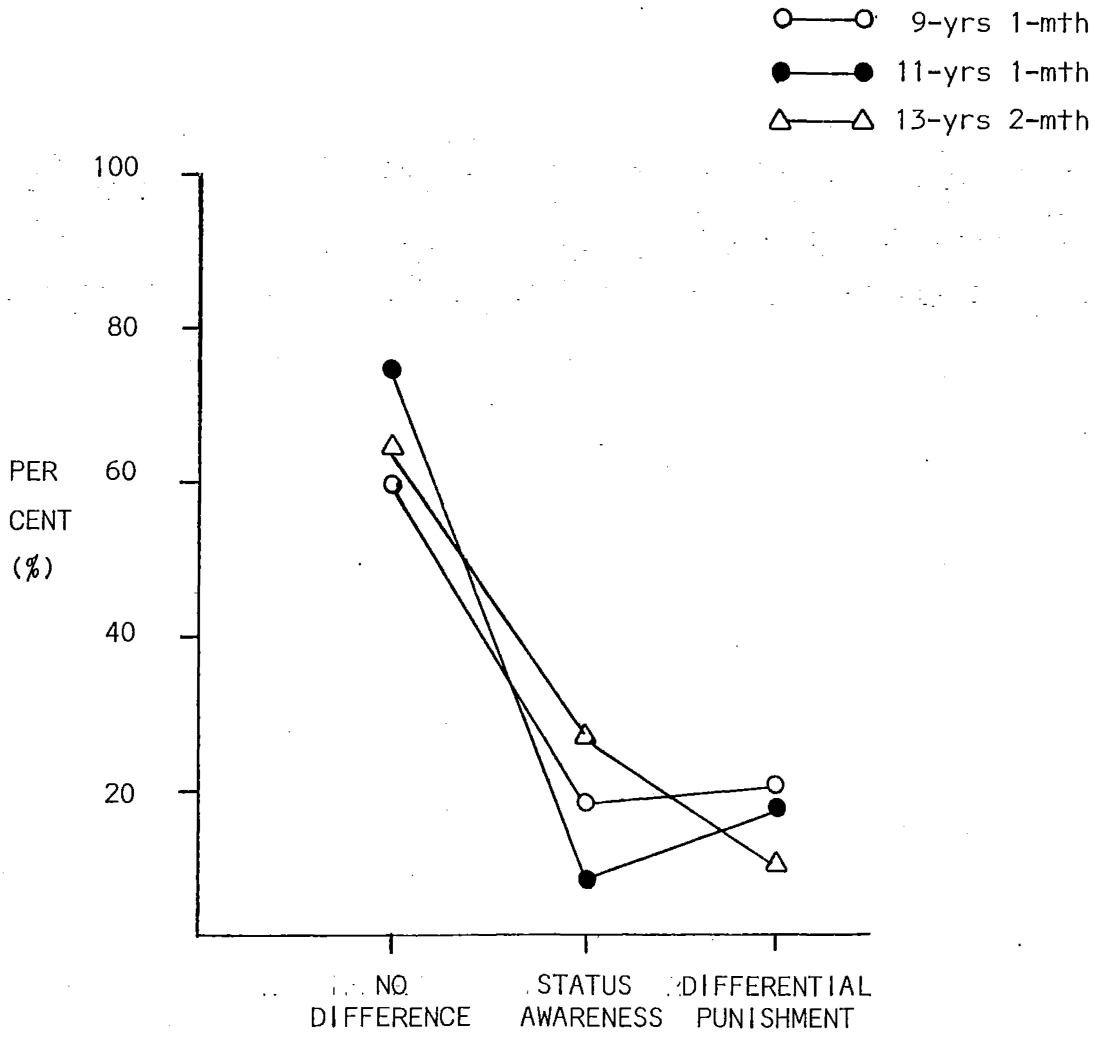
*** $p < .001$

TABLE IX: DISTRIBUTION OF STORY-COMPLETION SCORES OVER AGE, WITH SEXES COMBINED, EXPRESSED AS PERCENTAGES WITHIN EACH AGE GROUP. *

| SUBJECTS | | RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN TRAFFIC OFFICER AND MOTORISTS. | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | NO DIFFERENCE | STATUS AWARENESS | DIFFERENTIAL PUNISHMENT |
| AGES | 9-yrs 1-mth | 60.0 | 18.5 | 21.5 |
| | 11-yrs 1-mth | 75.0 | 7.2 | 17.8 |
| | 13-yrs 2-mth | 64.9 | 26.3 | 8.8 |

*($X^2$ = 10.23, d.f.4, .05 <p> .01)

FIGURE VII: DISTRIBUTION OF STORY-COMPLETION SCORES OVER AGE, WITH SEXES COMBINED, EXPRESSED AS PERCENTAGES WITHIN EACH AGE GROUP.



Punishment categorised those subject's story-completions that varied punishment in a set manner, either progressively or in a diminishing manner, and without variation in accord with the status of the speed-violating motorist. Under these conditions the categories of No Difference and Differential Punishment can be combined ("No Status Awareness"), as together they represent the Traffic Officer showing no awareness to the status of the motorist concerned, dealing with the actual speeding offence. The No Status Awareness data can therefore be compared with the subjects who believed Status Awareness would occur. Table X shows that when this is carried out, differences between No Status Awareness and Status Awareness still remain significant. In addition to showing that the two category distribution is not a chance relationship, the findings also show that the relationship is heavily weighted in favour of the previous No Difference category, since the levels of significance have been increased with the formation of the No Status Awareness category.

Within each sex category, a 3 x 2 Chi-square for Girls proved to be beyond adequate analysis, since 33.3% of the cells had expected frequencies of less than 5.0. For Boys, however, a 3 x 2 Chi-square proved to be significant ($X^2$ = 7.48, d.f.2, $.05 < p > .01$; Table XI). As Figure VIII illustrates, Boys increase the percentage difference between Status Awareness and No Status Awareness categories between the ages 9-years 1-month and 11-years 1-month, but reduce the percentage difference by 13-years 2-months. While the differences between Status Awareness and No Status Awareness within each age group are shown to be significantly different (Table X), Figure VIII shows that a smaller percentage of the 13-year 2-months age group consider the Traffic Officer to be unaffected by status, and a higher percentage record the Traffic Officer as being influenced by the status of the speed-violating motorist.

When scores were totalled, regardless of sex (Table XII), the

TABLE X: DISTRIBUTION OF STORY-COMPLETION SCORES OVER SEX x AGE, EXPRESSED AS PERCENTAGES ACROSS EACH SEX x AGE GROUP.

| SUBJECTS | | RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN TRAFFIC OFFICER AND MOTORISTS. | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| SEX | AGE | NO STATUS AWARENESS | STATUS AWARENESS | |
| BOYS | 9-yrs 1-mth | 81.8 | 18.2 | *** |
| | 11-yrs 1-mth | 96.1 | 3.9 | *** |
| | 13-yrs 2-mth | 67.7 | 32.3 | * |
| GIRLS | 9-yrs 1-mth | 81.2 | 18.8 | *** |
| | 11-yrs 1-mth | 90.0 | 10.0 | *** |
| | 13-yrs 2-mth | 80.8 | 19.2 | *** |

* $p < .05$

** $p < .01$

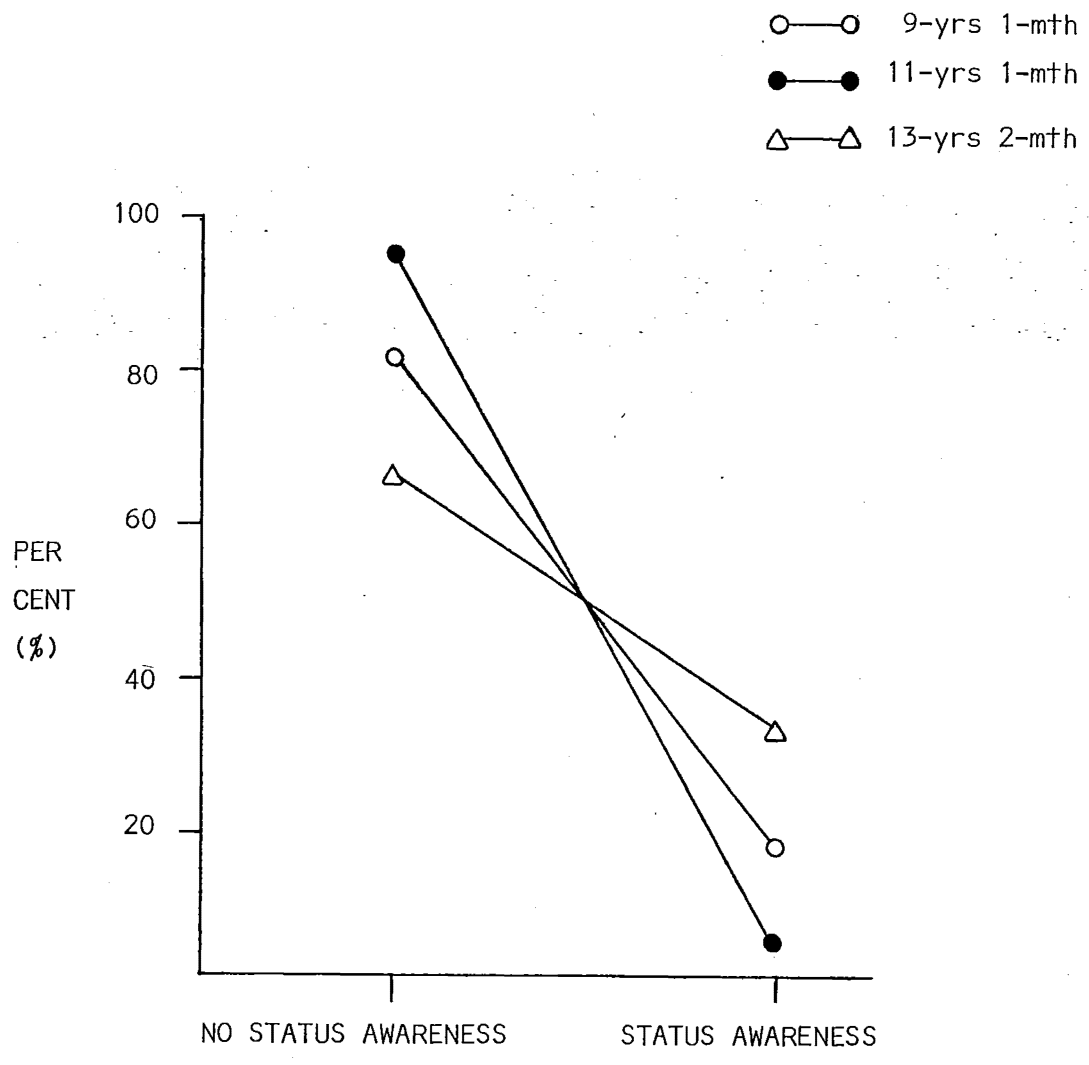
*** $p < .001$

TABLE XI: DISTRIBUTION OF STORY-COMPLETION SCORES OVER AGE, FOR BOYS, EXPRESSED AS PERCENTAGES ACROSS EACH AGE GROUP.*

| SUBJECTS | | RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN TRAFFIC OFFICER AND MOTORISTS. | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | NO STATUS AWARENESS | STATUS AWARENESS |
| AGES | 9-yrs 1-mth | 81.8 | 18.2 |
| | 11-yrs 1-mth | 96.1 | 3.9 |
| | 13-yrs 2-mth | 67.7 | 32.3 |

*($X^2$ = 7.48, d.f.2, .05<p>.01)

FIGURE VIII: DISTRIBUTION OF STORY-COMPLETION SCORES OVER AGE, FOR BOYS, EXPRESSED AS PERCENTAGES ACROSS EACH AGE GROUP.



addition of the Girls' scores fails to alter the relationship shown in Figure VIII ($X^2$ = 7.29, d.f.2, .05 < p > .01). The 11-year 1-month age group has increased on the percentage of 9-years 1-month subjects who maintain that Status Awareness would not enter the Traffic Officer's actions. This is balanced by a decreased percentage who believe that the Traffic Officer would be affected by the status of the motorist. Figure IX shows that the 13-years 2-months age group, with sexes combined, have a greater percentage of story-completions in which the Traffic Officer is seen to be affected by the status of the motorist.

(2) Sex x Socio-economic Status of Father.

Individual Socio-economic Status of Father groupings were pooled over Age, and the differences in the distribution of scores tested by Chi-square. Table XIII shows that all differences across the scores for No Difference, Status Awareness, and Differential Punishment were statistically significant, and are not a distribution based on chance.

Both attempts to analyse the data over Sex (Boys only and Girls only) were fruitless. The expected frequency of cell sizes above 5.0 in both cases proved to be less than the 80.0% needed for adequate analysis. The 3 x 3 distribution of scores in both cases was too heavily weighted in favour of the No Difference category to allow reliable analysis.

When the scores for sexes were combined together the distribution of scores in a 3 x 3 Chi-square proved to be non-significant ($X^2$ = 1.196, d.f.4, p > .50), and shows no significant difference between scores based on Socio-economic Status of Father.

As with the Sex x Age analysis, the distributions under Sex x Socio-economic Status of Father were pooled over No Difference and Differential Punishment categories (forming No Status Awareness), and analysed for differences with the Status Awareness scores. Table XIV shows that Socio-economic Status level within each Sex contained

TABLE XII: DISTRIBUTION OF STORY-COMPLETION SCORES OVER AGE, WITH SEXES COMBINED, EXPRESSED AS PERCENTAGES ACROSS EACH AGE GROUP.*

| SUBJECTS | | RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN TRAFFIC OFFICER AND MOTORISTS. | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | NO STATUS AWARENESS | STATUS AWARENESS |
| AGES | 9-yrs 1-mth | 81.5 | 18.5 |
| | 11-yrs 1-mth | 92.8 | 7.2 |
| | 13-yrs 2-mth | 73.7 | 26.3 |

*($X^2$ = 7.29, d.f.2, .05 <p> .01)

FIGURE IX: DISTRIBUTION OF STORY-COMPLETION SCORES OVER AGE, WITH SEXES COMBINED, EXPRESSED AS PERCENTAGES ACROSS EACH AGE GROUP.

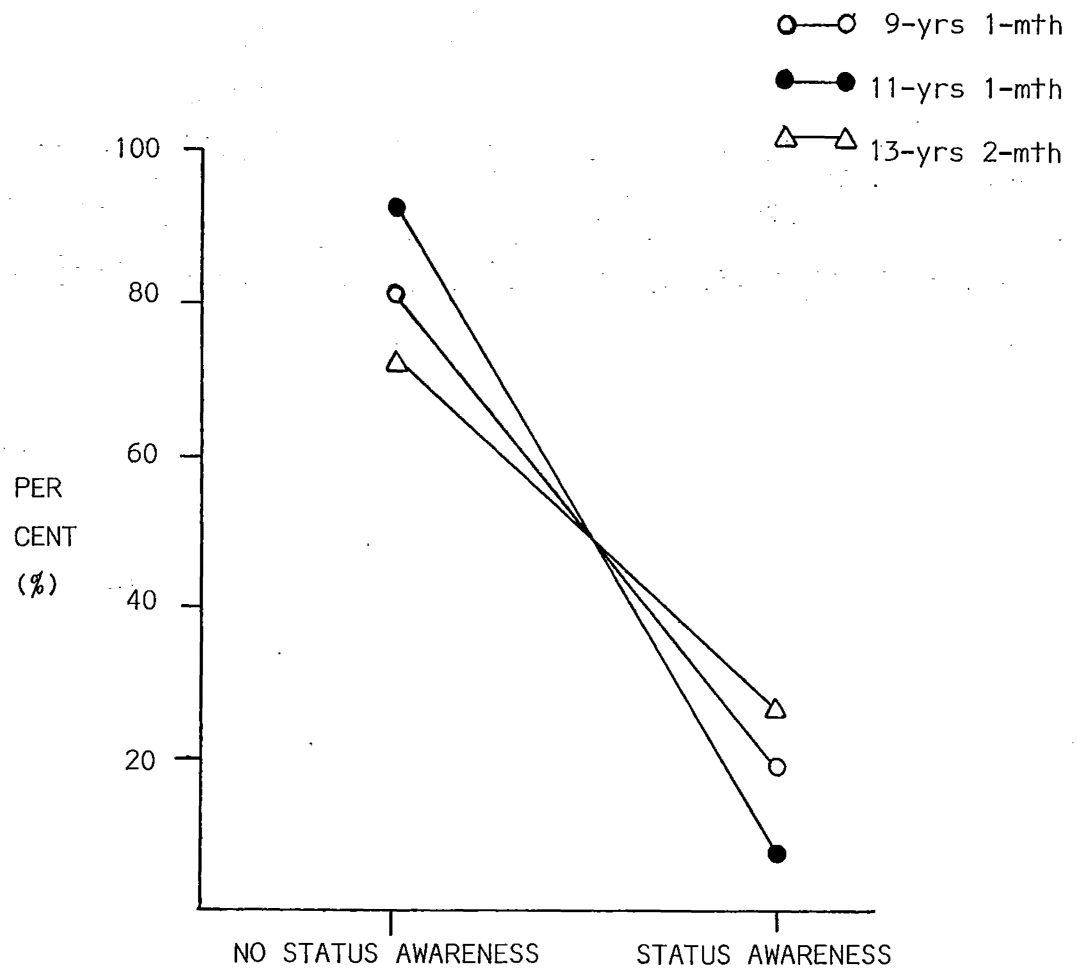


TABLE XIII: DISTRIBUTION OF STORY-COMPLETION SCORES OVER SEX x SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS OF FATHER, EXPRESSED AS PERCENTAGES ACROSS EACH SEX x SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS OF FATHER GROUP.

| SUBJECTS | | RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN TRAFFIC OFFICER AND MOTORISTS. | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| SEX | SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS OF FATHER | NO DIFFERENCE | STATUS AWARENESS | DIFFERENTIAL PUNISHMENT | |
| BOYS | UPPER | 61.5 | 11.5 | 27.0 | ** |
| | MIDDLE | 61.5 | 25.6 | 12.9 | *** |
| | LOWER | 64.0 | 16.0 | 20.0 | ** |
| GIRLS | UPPER | 61.3 | 29.0 | 9.7 | ** |
| | MIDDLE | 73.5 | 5.9 | 20.6 | *** |
| | LOWER | 78.3 | 13.0 | 8.7 | *** |

** $p < .01$

*** $p < .001$

TABLE XIV: DISTRIBUTION OF STORY-COMPLETION SCORES OVER SEX x SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS OF FATHER, EXPRESSED AS PERCENTAGES ACROSS EACH SEX x SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS OF FATHER GROUP.

| SUBJECTS | | RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN TRAFFIC OFFICER AND MOTORISTS. | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| SEX | SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS OF FATHER | NO STATUS AWARENESS | STATUS AWARENESS | |
| BOYS | UPPER | 88.5 | 11.5 | *** |
| | MIDDLE | 74.4 | 25.6 | *** |
| | LOWER | 84.0 | 16.0 | *** |
| GIRLS | UPPER | 71.0 | 29.0 | *** |
| | MIDDLE | 94.1 | 5.9 | *** |
| | LOWER | 87.0 | 13.0 | *** |

*** $p < .001$

statistically significant distributions, in favour of the No Status Awareness percentage distribution.

Analysis within each Sex in a 3 x 2 Chi-square failed, as too few of the cells had expected frequencies above the minimum frequency of 5.0. However, when scores were combined over Sex, the distribution proved to be non-significant ($X^2$ = 0.838, d.f.4, $p > .50$), showing that there were no significant differences in the distribution of scores between the levels of Socio-economic Status of Father.

(3) Age x Socio-economic Status of Father.

Combined over Sex, the individual Socio-economic Status of Father groupings within each age group proved to be statistically significant in their distribution (Table XV), except for the Upper Status 9-years 1-month age group ($X^2$ = 0.74, d.f.2, $p > .50$), which shows that this group's distribution of scores is likely to be based on chance allocation.

Analysis between each Socio-economic Status of Father group, within each Age level, failed because of the expected frequencies of cells was too low.

When the distributions were pooled over Age groups, the resulting distribution proved to be non-significant ($X^2$ = 1.196, d.f.4, $p > .50$). This shows that regardless of the age of the subjects, there was no significant difference between the three categories of No Difference, Status Awareness, and Differential Punishment, as based on the Socio-economic Status of Father.

All distributions were significantly different in Table XVI, where No Difference and Differential Punishment were combined (No Status Awareness) within each Age x Socio-economic Status of Father grouping. The change from non-significant to a significant difference in the distribution of scores for the Upper Status 9-years 1-month age group shows that this group has placed a greater emphasis on Differential Punishment, higher than the percentages of the other Age x Socio-economic

TABLE XV: DISTRIBUTION OF STORY-COMPLETION SCORES OVER AGE x SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS OF FATHER, EXPRESSED AS PERCENTAGES ACROSS EACH AGE x SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS OF FATHER GROUP.

| SUBJECTS | | RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN TRAFFIC OFFICER AND MOTORISTS. | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| AGE | SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS OF FATHER | NO DIFFERENCE | STATUS AWARENESS | DIFFERENTIAL PUNISHMENT | |
| 9-yrs 1-mth | UPPER | 42.1 | 26.3 | 31.6 | |
| | MIDDLE | 64.0 | 16.0 | 20.0 | ** |
| | LOWER | 71.4 | 14.3 | 14.3 | ** |
| 11-yrs 1-mth | UPPER | 80.0 | 10.0 | 10.0 | *** |
| | MIDDLE | 75.0 | 4.2 | 20.8 | *** |
| | LOWER | 66.7 | 8.3 | 25.0 | * |
| 13-yrs 2-mth | UPPER | 61.1 | 27.8 | 11.1 | * |
| | MIDDLE | 62.5 | 29.2 | 8.3 | ** |
| | LOWER | 73.3 | 20.0 | 6.7 | ** |

* $p < .05$

** $p < .01$

*** $p < .001$

TABLE XVI: DISTRIBUTION OF STORY-COMPLETION SCORES OVER AGE x SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS OF FATHER, EXPRESSED AS PERCENTAGES ACROSS EACH AGE x SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS OF FATHER GROUP.

| SUBJECTS | | RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN TRAFFIC OFFICER AND MOTORISTS. | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| AGE | SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS OF FATHER | NO STATUS AWARENESS | STATUS AWARENESS | |
| 9-yrs 1-mth | UPPER | 73.7 | 26.3 | * |
| | MIDDLE | 84.0 | 16.0 | *** |
| | LOWER | 85.7 | 14.3 | ** |
| 11-yrs 1-mth | UPPER | 90.0 | 10.0 | *** |
| | MIDDLE | 95.8 | 4.2 | *** |
| | LOWER | 91.7 | 8.3 | *** |
| 13-yrs 2-mth | UPPER | 72.2 | 27.8 | * |
| | MIDDLE | 70.8 | 29.2 | * |
| | LOWER | 80.0 | 20.0 | ** |

* $p < .05$

** $p < .01$

*** $p < .001$

Status of Father groupings.

Analysis between levels of Socio-economic Status of Father within each group failed through low expected frequencies within cells. When Socio-economic Status of Father groupings were combined over all age groups the resulting 3 x 2 distribution of scores proved to be non-significant ($X^2$ = 0.928, d.f.2, $p > .50$). This again shows that the Socio-economic Status of Father over Age played no significant part in the distribution of scores, and had no effect on whether the child saw the Traffic Officer as being affected by the status of the speed-violating motorist.

(4) Total Differences.

Within Table A (Appendix D), analysis of one set of data was possible. This was the total scores for No Difference, Status Awareness and Differential Punishment. As Table XVII shows, the distribution of scores within each Sex category, as a total score, were statistically significant, as was the distribution of scores combined together, regardless of sex. No Sex difference was found in a 3 x 2 Chi-square ($X^2$ = 1.43, d.f.2, $p > .20$).

When the No Status Awareness category was formed through the combination of No Difference and Differential Punishment scores, the difference in score distributions again show significant results (Table XVIII), but no significant Sex difference occured when a 2 x 2 Chi-square was performed on the results ($X^2$ = 0.27, d.f.1, $p > .50$).

(5) Indirect and Direct Bias Against the Status Level of the Motorists.

Bias towards the status of the motorists was decided upon by the nature of additional information provided in the story-completions by the subjects. The criterion used has previously been discussed. Table XIX shows the distribution of Indirect Bias over all variables.

TABLE XVII: DISTRIBUTION OF STORY-COMPLETION SCORES OVER SEX x SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS OF FATHER, EXPRESSED AS PERCENTAGES ACROSS EACH SEX CATEGORY.

| | RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN TRAFFIC OFFICER AND MOTORISTS. | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | NO DIFFERENCE | STATUS AWARENESS | DIFFERENTIAL PUNISHMENT | |
| BOYS | 62.2 | 18.9 | 18.9 | *** |
| GIRLS | 70.5 | 15.9 | 13.6 | *** |

*** $p < .001$

TABLE XVIII: DISTRIBUTION OF STORY-COMPLETION SCORES OVER AGE x SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS OF FATHER, EXPRESSED AS PERCENTAGES ACROSS EACH SEX CATEGORY.

| | RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN TRAFFIC OFFICER AND MOTORISTS. | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | NO STATUS AWARENESS | STATUS AWARENESS | |
| BOYS | 81.1 | 18.9 | *** |
| GIRLS | 84.1 | 15.9 | *** |

*** $p < .001$

TABLE XIX: DISTRIBUTION OF INDIRECT BIAS (STATUS AWARENESS) RECORDED IN THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN TRAFFIC OFFICER AND MOTORISTS.

| SUBJECTS | | | PREFERENCE GIVEN TO CERTAIN STRATA OVER OTHERS | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| AGE | SEX | S.E.S FATHER | 1/23 | 2/13 | 3/12 | 12/3 | 13/2 | 23/1 | 1/2/3 | Equal |
| 9-yrs 1-mth | BOY | UPPER | 1 | | | | | | | 7 |
| | | MIDDLE | | | | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 9 |
| | | LOWER | | | | 1 | | | 1 | 10 |
| | GIRL | UPPER | 1 | | | 1 | | 1 | 1 | 7 |
| | | MIDDLE | | 1 | 1 | | 2 | 1 | | 8 |
| | | LOWER | | | | 1 | | | | 8 |
| 11-yrs 1-mth | BOY | UPPER | 1 | | | | | | | 8 |
| | | MIDDLE | | | 1 | | 1 | | | 9 |
| | | LOWER | | 1 | | | | 1 | | 4 |
| | GIRL | UPPER | 1 | 1 | | | | | | 9 |
| | | MIDDLE | 1 | | | | | | | 12 |
| | | LOWER | | | 1 | | | | | 5 |
| 13-yrs 2-mth | BOY | UPPER | | | | | | | 1 | 8 |
| | | MIDDLE | 3 | 1 | | 1 | | | 2 | 8 |
| | | LOWER | | | | | | | 2 | 5 |
| | GIRL | UPPER | 2 | | | | | | 2 | 5 |
| | | MIDDLE | | | | | | | | 9 |
| | | LOWER | 1 | | | | | | | 7 |
| TOTAL (N) | | | 11 | 5 | 4 | 4 | 3 | 3 | 10 | 138 |
| TOTAL (%) | | | 6.17 | 2.81 | 2.25 | 2.25 | 1.69 | 1.69 | 5.62 | 77.53 |
| INDIRECT BIAS (%) | | | 27.5 | 12.5 | 10.0 | 10.0 | 7.5 | 7.5 | 25.0 | |
| WEIGHTED TOTALS (N) | | | 40 | 22 | 21 | | | | | |
| WEIGHTED TOTALS (%) | | | 48.20 | 26.50 | 25.30 | * | | | | |

* ($X^2$ = 8.267, d.f.1, $p < .01$)

The differences between those subjects regarding the Traffic Officer as being aware of status and not aware of status have previously been shown as significantly in favour of the Traffic Officer not using the status of the motorist in his dealing with the speed-violating offence. The distribution over Sex x Age x Socio-economic Status of Father would not allow analysis because of the small cell sizes. Instead, a weighting of the incidence of Indirect Bias over the three main levels of motorists' status took place, whereby the frequency of scores were summed over like-status levels. Where two or more status levels received Indirect Bias (eg. Indirect Bias towards the Middle and Lower Socio-economic Status levels, to the disadvantage of the Upper Socio-economic Status level; ie. 23/1), the totals were proportionately divided and summed to each of the status levels concerned. The result, the Weighted Totals, as shown in Table XIX, were found to be significantly different ($X^2$ = 8.267, d.f.1, $p < .01$).

Although results from previous analyses had shown there was a non-significant relationship between scores for Status Awareness (ie. Indirect Bias) (N = 40), and those who considered the motorists to be treated equally by the Traffic Officer, analysis of the relationship between Socio-economic Status of Father and the Socio-economic Status of the motorist seen to benefit from the Indirect Bias was carried out (Table XX). A 3 x 3 Chi-square was used to analyse the distribution, finding a non-significant relationship ($X^2$ = 2.01, d.f.4, $p > .50$). One significant finding within this table was between the distribution of scores for the Lower Socio-Economic Status motorist ($X^2$ = 4.30, d.f.1, $.05 \quad p < .01$).

A smaller number of subjects (N = 38) used Direct Bias in their story-completions. As shown in Table XXI, this Direct Bias was spread across the three levels of status that the motorist represented, as well as combinations of these three levels. The distribution of scores was too small to allow adequate analysis, and Weighted Totals were

TABLE XX: THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS OF FATHER AND THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS OF THE MOTORIST SEEN TO BENEFIT FROM THE INDIRECT BIAS (STATUS AWARENESS).*

| SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS OF FATHER | SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS OF MOTORIST | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | UPPER | MIDDLE | LOWER |
| UPPER | 11 | 7 | 5 |
| MIDDLE | 13 | 8 | 11 |
| LOWER | 5 | 6 | 4 |

*(Numbers record frequency of occurence)

TABLE XXI: THE DISTRIBUTION OF RECORDED DIRECT BIAS IN SUBJECTS' STORY-COMPLETIONS.

| | STATUS LEVEL OF DRIVER THAT RECORDED DIRECT BIAS | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 1 & 2 | 1 & 3 | 2 & 3 | 1,2 & 3 |
| TOTAL BIAS (N) | 18 | 5 | 8 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 2 |
| TOTAL BIAS (%) | 47.37 | 13.16 | 21.05 | 5.26 | 5.26 | 2.63 | 5.26 |
| WEIGHTED TOTALS (N) | 24 | 10 | 13 | | | | |
| WEIGHTED TOTALS (%) | 51.06 | 21.27 | 27.65 | * | | | |

*($X^2$ = 6.939, d.f.1, $p < .01$)

TABLE XXII: THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS OF THE SUBJECT AND THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS OF THE MOTORIST RECEIVING THE DIRECT BIAS.*

| | SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS OF MOTORIST | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS OF FATHER | UPPER | MIDDLE | LOWER |
| UPPER | 7 | 2 | 7 |
| MIDDLE | 8 | 3 | 3 |
| LOWER | 9 | 5 | 3 |

*(Numbers record frequency of occurence)

again formed to allow analysis of the three main levels of Socio-economic Status represented in the story-completion. The distribution of Direct Bias, heavily weighted against the Upper Socio-economic Status level, proved to be significant when analysed by Chi-square ($X^2 = 6.939$, d.f.1, $p < .01$).

Analysis of the relationship between Socio-economic Status of Father and the Socio-economic Status of the motorists (Table XXII) was carried out by Chi-square, but the small proportion of expected frequencies above 5.0 within the 3 x 3 Chi-square rendered the analysis unreliable.

# CHAPTER VI

## DISCUSSION.

### I. CHILDRENS COGNITIVE AWARENESS TO STRATIFICATION.

The results from the Picture Test show conclusively that New Zealand children are cognitively aware of stratification, and with increased age, show a marked ability to stratify along adult lines of stratification. The youngest age group tested, 9-years 1-month, have already acquired the ability to stratify, since their scores as a group are above the expected scores had the photographs been randomly assigned to the House envelopes. The test being a forced-choice situation of three choices, with three decisions to be made within each row, the score for random assignment of the 15 photographs would be 1.6335. Therefore, any score that is an increase above 1.6335 can be considered as better than a random assignment. A t-test, with the null hypothesis that $\mu = 1.6335$, shows that the 9-years 1-month age group was not assigning the Figure Photographs on a random basis ($t = 6.5142$, d.f.64, $p < .001$).

While the increase in age leads to an increased ability to stratify along adult lines, the Sex x Age interaction effect (Figure II) reduces the effect that age has on the ability to stratify, though in no way disproves any stratification ability. The Total scores for Girls aged 13-years 2-months has decreased sharply, though non-significantly, from the 11-years 1-month age group of Girls, but as Figure V shows, this is not the result of Girls at age 13-years 2-months being unable to stratify correctly. When viewed across the three levels of status represented in the Picture Test, the decreased Total score is seen to be the result of an inability to accurately assign the appropriate Figure Photographs to the High and Medium Status Houses.

With respect to the scores for the Bottom Status House, Girls are seen to be more able to correctly allocate the Figure Photographs than Boys of the same age group. Rather than proving that Girls aged 13-year 2-months are unable to stratify, as Total scores suggest, the Sex x Age x Status Level of House findings (Figure V) show that the Girls concerned most probably were using some other criterion for assigning the Figure Photographs, a criterion that does not match that originally used by the adult sample.

In support of the suggestion that this age group of Girls was using a different assigning criterion was the frequent questioning that the investigator and assistant received with regards to marital status, opinion on finger-nail polish and hair fashions, and the Bay City Rollers. These Girls were the more socially and sexually aware of the groups tested, and this pre-occupation with appearance and the Bay City Rollers shows examples of a differing set of socialisation processes at work. The Bay City Rollers, a pop-group with particular appeal to young girls, are well-known for their extravagant clothing, particularly the use of tartan material, and the exuberant behaviour of their fans. Consequently, the Girls of the 13-years 2-months age group, by expressing an interest in this group, may be believed to also rank according to standards their idols have set. While this argument does not fully explain the differences in the scores, it does suggest that the social awareness of this group of Girls is being channeled into more personal aspects, such as attire and appearance, and the following of the latest heart-throb pop-group.

The finding that New Zealand children are aware of stratification, and show an ability to stratify according to adult categories, matches the findings of overseas studies. Stendler (1949) found that an inability to use social class symbols amongst U.S. children could continue until Grade 4 (9-years old), when the early development period of stratification awareness began to take place. Jahoda (1959)

considered that children in Glasgow were already aware of stratification by the age of 6-years, with very few children in his sample totally unaware of social differences by the time they were 10-years old. Connell's (1969) study of Australian children concentrated on children's attitudes to stratification, but a similar age period of 8- to 12-years was found for the beginnings of a realistic appraisal of the Australian stratification structure. Tudor (1971), in pointing out the differences between the measures of Stendler (1949) and Jahoda (1959), found that U.S. children were cognitively aware of stratification as early as 6-years old, illustrating the importance of ensuring which dimension of awareness measurement is proceeding along.

Within the other investigations of stratification, only one other study (Lauer, 1974) has reported an age level considered to be important in the development of stratification awareness, although age-related ability to stratify, perceive levels of stratification, or use conceptual terminology has been reported; (Centers, 1960; Weinstein, 1958; Danziger, 1958; Gunn, 1964; Simmons & Rosenberg, 1971; Baxter, 1976). Lauer (1974) reported findings similar to those of Tudor, whereby 7-year old U.S. children were well socialised into accepting stratification and could rank accurately and according to adult values.

The Picture Test results provide an interesting finding with regard to stratification awareness not previously reported in overseas findings. Figure III shows the differences in the ability to stratify according to the status level of the house concerned, with the children in this study being more accurate in their placement of the Figure Photographs to the Bottom Status House than either the High or Medium Status Houses. While Girls appear to be less able to stratify than their Boy counterparts (Figure IV), this is brought about largely through the extremely low scores of Girls aged 13-years 2-months on the High and Medium Status Houses, previously discussed. With the exception of Girls aged 13-years 2-months, the ability to properly place the Figure

Photographs to all the appropriate houses improves with age, although, even by the age of 13-years 2-months, there is still a large discrepancy in the scores on the High and Medium Status Houses, compared to the scores on the Bottom Status House. This shows that the awareness of New Zealand children to stratification appears to develop over two stages. At least until the age of 13-years 2-months, children initially stratify along the basis of a dichotomy structure of society, "Upper" and "Lower". The Bottom Status House would seem to be the best example of the "Lower" stratum of the dichotomy structure, since the scores on this house are the most accurate, while neither the High or Medium Status Houses seem to represent the conceptualised "Upper" stratum. Consequently, the Figure Photograph placements for those two houses lack the degree of accuracy afforded the Bottom Status House.

The suggestion of a dichotomised view of society is supported by the finding that the original adult sample classified the houses as representing three strata levels, with the second adult sample having little difficulty in completing the Picture Test to the original sample's classifications. The ability to accurately stratify society into a three strata level structure, as the adult sample formed, must develop as children get older; older than the maximum age tested in this study (13-years 2-months). Figure V shows that the differences between scores on the High and Medium Status Houses are approaching those on the Bottom Status House as children get older, but the ability to clearly form a three strata structure of society must be a later development.

As stated earlier, the extremely low scores on the High and Medium Status Houses by the 13-years 2-months age group of Girls has effectively decreased the Total scores for Girls, and creates the impression that Boys at this age level are more able to accuately stratify than Girls. However, since overseas investigations have not analysed the differences between sexes with regard to the performance on the stratum level of Figure Photograph allocations, as has been in

the present study, consideration must be reduced to the Total score figures (Figure 11) when carrying out comparisons with overseas results. New Zealand children appear to hold different characteristics than U.S. children, for whom results are available. Stendler (1949) found that boys performed better in the early age groups, until Grade 6 (11-years old), when they were surpassed in performance by girls. Tudor's (1971) results compare favourably with the present study. She found that girls performed in a superior manner to boys on the cognitive dimension of awareness to stratification, when tested over Grades 1, 4, and 6, but since her study ceased with 11-year olds, the fall of girls' scores, as found in the present study, may or may not have occured. There is no way of being sure. Stendler (1949), however, did not report such a decrease, though she found boys to be more superior in stratification awareness in the earlier age periods.

Children's ability to accurately stratify along three levels of stratification appears to be affected by the Socio-economic Status of Father, although this is not the complete basis of differing results found between children. If the scores on the High and Medium Status Houses are disregarded, considering for a moment that they may be the result of children being unable to utilise a three level stratification system, the results for the Bottom Status House show an interesting relationship between Sex and Socio-economic Status of Father. Girls stratify more accurately than Boys of the same status level, and as a sex grouping, stratify above all Boy Socio-economic Status of Father groups. Of real interest is the formation of the Upper, Middle and Lower Socio-economic Status of Father hierarchy. This compares favourably with the findings of Stendler (1949), where the ability to stratify was a consequence of the status of father, a hierarchical order being formed, with Upper Status children performing superior of all status children groups. Within the New Zealand setting, Baldock (1968) reports the findings of Taylor (unpublished), from which her conclusions

are that there is some association between measured intelligence and father's socio-economic status, with children from a higher socio-economic status scoring higher on intelligence tests. Interestingly, both Jahoda (1959) and Tudor (1971) found that the children with higher measured intelligence performed better in stratification tests. Jahoda (1959) had found a similar result to the present study, when a relationship was found between social status of child and IQ, with the social status differences disappearing when IQ was held constant. Tudor (1971) had simply found that children with a high-IQ were more aware of behavioural attributes to stratification than the low-IQ subjects in her sample.

The results from the Picture Test may therefore show that children from a higher socio-economic status level are more able to stratify, at least within a dichotomy stratification structure, than children of lower socio-economic status, since they may also benefit from having a higher measured intelligence, and would presumably be more alert to such concepts as stratification. This same effect of socio-economic status of father does not appear to influence the ability to stratify over all levels of the three Houses, for the Lower Socio-economic Status Boys attain the least variable results across the three House Photographs. While this does not increase the overall ability of this socio-economic group of children to accurately allocate the Figure Photographs, it does show that of all the socio-economic status levels, the Lower Status Boys are more likely to stratify in terms of a three strata stratification system.

## II. CHILDRENS EVALUATIONS OF STRATIFICATION AWARENESS.

Within each experimental variable, sex, age or socio-economic status of father, the majority of children in this study believe that the position of status one holds will not effect the treatment receive by a Traffic Officer after a speed offence has been committed. Differential

Punishment is seen to be the belief of the younger age groups, with fewer children considering this would occur as age increases (Figure VII). That it occurs chiefly in the early age groups is shown in Table XV, where the distribution of scores between the three criterion that story-completions were coded against approach random assignment for Upper Socio-economic Status children aged 9-years 1-month. When Differential Punishment is combined with the No Difference category, forming the No Status Awareness category, a significant difference is found in favour of No Status Awareness occuring (Table XVI). The belief in increasing or decreasing punishment with each new offender is likely to be related to the occurence of punishments for misbehaviour in the classroom and home. Teachers and parents are notorious for increasing the punishment with each new offence. With increased age, children are more likely to be aware that this form of punishment does not occur within the Traffic Officer-speeding motorist situation, and will be aware that fines are set at the speed above the limit that the motorist was traveling, and are not at the discretion of the Traffic Officer.

With the formation of the No Status Awareness category, to analyse against the frequency of Status Awareness, the findings show that within each level of the experimental variables, (sex, age, or socio-economic status of father), all groupings of children significantly believe in the lack of status privilege. However, the Sex x Age interaction findings (Tables IX, XI, and XII; Figures VII, VIII, and IX) show a change in emphasis in this belief. Under the three coded criterion, the two early age groups show a high belief in the lack of status privilege, with a small percentage believing in Status Awareness, and a slightly larger percentage believing in Differential Punishment. At age 13-years 2-months a change in emphasis occurs. Not only has there been a decrease in the percentage who believe Differential Punishment would occur, but a decrease in the percentage of children holding equality views has also dropped, with a consequent rise in the percentage of children holding the

view that the status of the motorist does alter the punishment administered by a Traffic Officer after a speeding offence.

While the figures for Girls were not able to be analysed, the findings for Boys and Sexes Combined, show that when the division between No Status Awareness and Status Awareness is made, the same pattern occurs. The 11-years 1-month age group is seen to increase on the percentage of children in the 9-years 1-month age group who believe in equality before the law, but a swing in the other direction, with a corresponding higher percentage believing in Status Awareness occuring, takes place with the 13-years 2-months age group.

The consequences of the findings are that there appears to be the development, along age lines, of an awareness to privileges attached to stratification. That the earliest age group to show this increase is the 13-years 2-months age group suggests that belief in status privilege occurs at a latter part in the development of stratification awareness, since the two earlier age groups show an ability to accurately stratify New Zealand society, but believe more strongly in egalitarian views.

The incidence of status awareness was viewed with regards to children showing bias in an indirect manner, through the Traffic Officer, to certain status levels of motorist. However, because the frequency of Indirect Bias was so low (Table XIX), analysis was limited to weighting the status levels and analysing the differences. The Upper Status level receives the highest amount of Indirect Bias, or acknowledgement of status from the Traffic Officer, and is seen to receive almost twice that of the other two levels of status. This signifies that those children who believe that Status Awareness would occur, significantly believe that it is the Upper Status motorist that is more likely to be unpunished or punished less harshly, compared to the motorists of the other two levels of status. (Examples of childrens' use of Status Awareness/Indirect Bias towards motorists are given in Appendix E.)

There was no relationship between Socio-economic Status of the

children and the status level of the motorist seen to benefit from the Traffic Officer using status awareness in his treatment of the motorists. Only the distribution for the Lower Status motorist was seen as being significant. While the impression at first is that Middle Socio-economic Status children see the Lower Status motorist as being treated less harshly by the Traffic Officer, a closer examination of Table XIX reveals that Middle Socio-economic Status children see the Lower Status motorist in combination with the other two levels of status as being treated less harshly, and not as an individual status level.

Interestingly, only a quarter of those children who consider that status awareness would occur (N = 10), see the bias as working in a hierarchical manner, where the Middle Status motorist is treated less harshly than the Lower Status motorist, and the Upper Status motorist treated less harshly of all. While this appears characteristic of the older age group, the low frequency of occurence did not allow proper analysis to take place.

Of similar note is the finding that only one subject actually denied that the status of motorist would have any importance in the consequent treatment a motorist would receive from a Traffic Officer after caught speeding, (Girl, 13-years 2-months, Upper Status), and her denial was on the basis that the status of the motorist <u>should</u> not, (ie. it may occur, but it should not occur), and was not a statement that status awareness on the part of the Traffic Officer <u>would</u> not occur.

The analysis of the additional information included in the story-completions, the Direct Bias, shows that the Upper Status motorist is not only considered the motorist most likely to receive less harsher treatment from the Traffic Officer, but he is also considered to be the worst of the motorists stopped for speeding. The occurence of Direct Bias significantly finds the Upper Status motorist more likely to be drunk, to offer a bribe, or have a previous conviction. Table XXI

shows that the Direct Bias is directed against this status level on a ratio of 2:1, a significant difference in scores.

Only two subjects considered that the speed-violating motorists all had "criminal" attributes, in that they used Direct Bias comments against all three of the motorists. These two subjects could be seen as considering that the incidence of traffic offences occurs across all strata of society, and is not stratum-specific.

As with Indirect Bias, there appears to be no basis between the Socio-economic status of the subject and the status level of the motorist that receives the Direct Bias, though the low frequency of Direct Bias occuring prevented adequate analysis taking place.

## III. RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY.

The major area for further study is in extending the age groups investigated, into earlier and older age groups than those in the present study. One of the main findings of this study is that the earliest age group sampled (mean age 9-years 1-month) shows awareness towards stratification and an ability to stratify along adult concepts, an ability beyond random assignment. Investigation is therefore needed, using younger age groups, to ascertain the age at which New Zealand children begin to develop cognitive awareness to stratification. At the other end of the age groups sampled, older groups require investigation into the development of the use of three levels of stratification, as well as the further development of status awareness associated with stratification. The oldest age group sampled (13-years 2-months) shows the development of a belief in privilege associated with status, and further investigation should proceed to isolate the components of this belief.

Associated with the necessity to extend the age groups under investigation is the desirability of larger numbers of subjects tested.

One of the chief handicaps within the present study was the inability to adequately analyse all the data collected thrbugh the Projective Story-completion Task. This was brought about through the low frequency of certain replies, as well as having too few subjects spread over too many variables. A drastic increase in the number sampled should alleviate most of these problems, and would allow a much deeper probe into the factors behind the growth in awareness to status privilege.

One of the chief criticisms of the findings within the study could be that the photographs in the Picture Test do not in fact represent three levels of a stratification structure of New Zealand society, or that they are not equally spread along a continuum of New Zealand houses, men, women, girls, boys and cars. This is basically one of the problems of scale methods, and within this study there is neither support nor opposition to the possible criticisms. Future investigation, however, into the scaling of such objects as houses and people in the New Zealand setting should proceed. The Picture Test used in this study was an attempt to standardise an American technique to the New Zealand setting. If further use is made of this objective recording procedure there must be more rigorous standardisation procedures, and a greater range in the initial material from which the test material is built up from.

In addition to the need for more rigorous standardisation is the acceptance of fashion changes. Restriction to monochrome film alleviates changes in fashion with regard to colour schemes, but the style of clothing worn by the people and the makes and models of the cars, are all associated with changes in fashion. Therefore, future use of the pictorial method will call for standardisation within the same time period that the test sessions occur.

A difficulty has arisen over the ability to interprete the effect that Socio-economic Status of Father has on childrens' cognitive awareness to stratification. There is some suggestion that this may in fact be related to the measured intelligence of the subjects, their IQ

levels, with suggestion that IQ and Socio-economic Status of Father are somehow related. Further research within the field of stratification awareness and awareness of status must therefore include either the recorded IQ scores of the subjects, or make provision for such tests in the investigation procedure.

## IV. CONCLUSIONS.

After deciding to study New Zealand children's awareness to stratification, and critically evaluating the existing research literature, the investigation was centred on four hypotheses. The first of these hypothesising egalitarian beliefs in childhood through the inability to stratify using adult concepts, has been shown to be incorrect. Within the age limits of this study, New Zealand children are aware of stratification and show a marked ability to stratify along adult lines.

The second hypothesis, that New Zealand children take longer to become aware of stratification, and are less able to stratify, compared to their counterparts overseas, must also be rejected. While there are relatively few studies carried out which place specific ages on children's awareness to stratification, the children within this study show an equal ability in stratifying New Zealand society, as their overseas counterparts show in stratifying their respective societies. The present study has no evidence on when awareness to stratification actually begins, other than before children reach 9-years of age, the youngest age group tested. Within the confines of comparability between the overseas studies and the present findings, English and American children have both been shown to be aware of stratification as early as 6-years old, and while there is no evidence to suggest this would also be found with New Zealand children, the findings of comparable ability to stratify from ages 9-years old to 13-years older supports the third hypothesis - that New Zealand

schoolchildren stratify along adult lines at an early age and show comparable stratification awareness with their overseas counterparts of comparable age.

Within the context of stratification evaluation by children, support for the fourth hypothesis has been overwhelming. Regardless of the age, sex, or socio-economic status of the father, belief in equality before the law appears to be widely prevalent amongst the schoolchildren tested. However, the beginnings of a development of status awareness with reference to legal penalties is shown by the oldest age group tested. While the support is still strongly in favour of equal treatment in legal penalties, the number of children considering that status awareness influences legal relationships is on the increase.

Collette's (1973) contention that New Zealand is a relatively homogeneous nation that may be stratified but whose citizens deny any significance to stratification could be considered as supported by the findings of this study. While children have been shown to be able to stratify in adult-like terms, something not denied by Collette of the adult population, in general children support the notion that strata divisions have little effect on the treatment citizens receive with regard to legal penalties. To this extent the study agrees with the conclusions of Collette, but the suggestion of the development of status awareness and privilege related to the upper socio-economic status group by the older children shows the development of something Collette had not considered to be part of the New Zealand scene, strata consciousness or the belief in and awareness of differences between socio-economic levels in New Zealand society.

## NOTES

1. Only 10 children were classified as being non-Pakeha in race. This sample was far too small to have been analysed, and elimination was the only way to control for possible racial differences.
2. This effected the removal of only 9 children, or 4.5% of the total sample.
3. Congalton (1952) found that his New Zealand sample of adolescents consider New Zealand to be divided into three strata, and the adult sample within this study also chose this number of strata. (Appendix A). Another close similarity lies between the criterion for stratification used by Congalton's adolescents and the present investigation's adult sample. (Appendix A).
4. Before testing took place, but after deciding upon the use of the Traffic Officer, a campaign of random checking to apprehend Islander overstayers by the Police could have added further difficulties to analysis, had a Policeman been used as the legal symbol in the Projective Story-completion Task.
5. A special note of gratitude for the assistance given by the Headmasters and staff at Aorangi Primary School, Russley Primary School, and Christchurch South Intermediate School. It was especially encouraging to have experimental investigation on a little researched topic welcomed with such enthusiasm by the teachers, and the pupils were willing to act as subjects.
6. My special thanks to Chris McGeorge, a fellow post-graduate, who gave up his valuable time to assist the collection of data, and to offer encouragement and sound advice.

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APPENDIX A.

1. Information Answer Sheet.....A/i

2. Figure A: The Number of Levels in the New Zealand Stratification Structure.....A/ii

3. Table A: The Factors Considered as Deciding Social Strata.....A/iii

4. Instructions A: The Procedure For Sorting The Photographs.....A/iv

5. Instructions B: The Procedure For Selecting The Best Representative Photograph.....A/iv

6. Score Sheet, Used In Recording Status Allocations of The Photographs.....A/v

APPENDIX A:

INFORMATION ANSWER SHEET: PRESENTED TO ADULT SAMPLE; HALF THE SAMPLE BEFORE THE SORTING TASK, AND THE OTHER HALF AFTER THE SORTING TASK.

1. NAME_____ M/F

2. AGE: ____years ____months.

3. WHERE BORN IN NEW ZEALAND: _____

4. FATHER'S PRESENT OCCUPATION _____

5. FATHER'S PREVIOUS OCCUPATIONS _____

_____

6. HOW MANY STRATA DO YOU CONSIDER NEW ZEALAND IS DIVIDED INTO?

- ☐ NONE
- ☐ TWO
- ☐ THREE
- ☐ FOUR
- ☐ MORE THAN FOUR

7. WHAT DO YOU CONSIDER AS THE BASIC FACTOR OR FACTORS THAT SET ONE STRATA APART FROM ANOTHER?

_____

_____

_____

_____

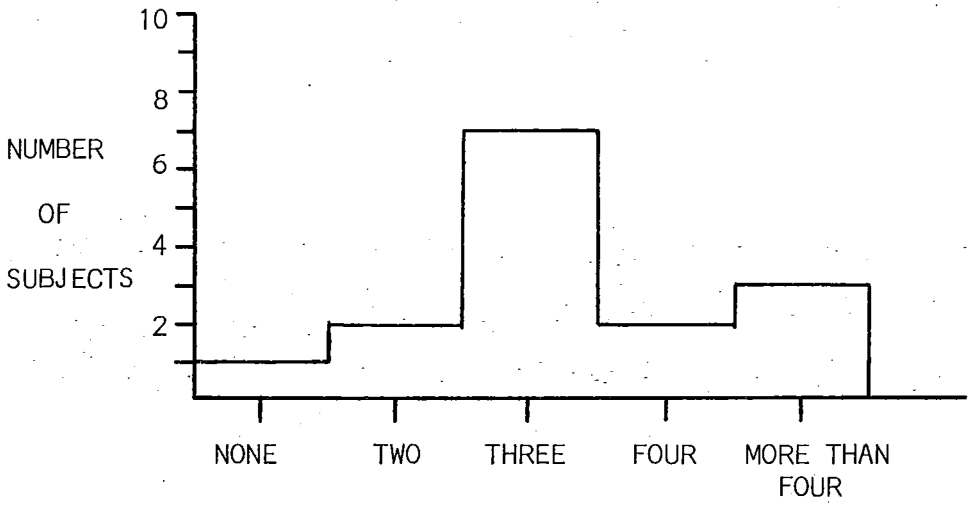
_____

_____

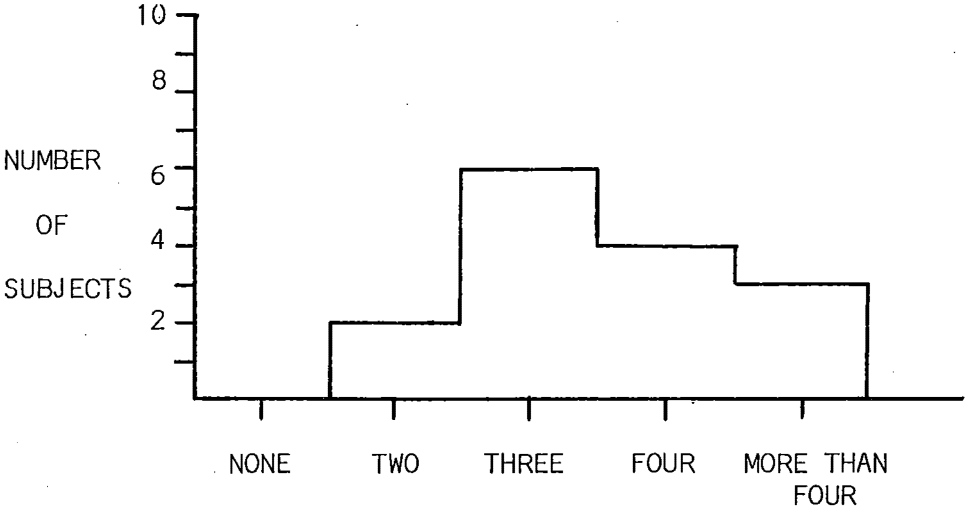
APPENDIX A:

FIGURE A: THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE NUMBER OF LEVELS IN THE NEW ZEALAND STRATIFICATION STRUCTURE, AS HELD BY THE ADULT SAMPLE IN THEIR ANSWERS TO QUESTION 6 OF THE INFORMATION ANSWER SHEET.

BEFORE SORTING-TASK GROUP




AFTER SORTING-TASK GROUP



APPENDIX A:

TABLE A: THE DISTRIBUTION OF FACTORS CONSIDERED AS DECIDING SOCIAL STRATA, AS CONSIDERED IMPORTANT BY THE ADULT SAMPLE IN THEIR ANSWERS TO QUESTION 7 OF THE INFORMATION ANSWER SHEET.

| FACTORS | WHEN QUESTIONED | |
|---|---|---|
| | Before Sorting Task | After Sorting Task |
| (a) Money/Wealth | 13 | 16 |
| (b) Education | 7 | 8 |
| (c) Occupation | 4 | 8 |
| (d) Race/Cultural Differences | 3 | 2 |
| (e) Heritage/Tradition | 2 | 2 |
| (f) Opportunity/Ambition | 2 | 2 |
| (g) Attitudes To Other People | 1 | 3 |
| (h) House Type/Dwelling Area | 1 | 2 |
| (i) Prestige | 1 | 1 |
| (j) Display Items (Cars, Clothes, etc.) | | 2 |
| (k) Morals | 1 | |
| (l) Recreational Pursuits | 1 | |
| (m) Religion | 1 | |
| (n) Speech Patterns/Grammar | 1 | |
| (o) Intelligence | | 1 |
| (p) Political Power | | 1 |
| TOTAL | 38 | 48 |

APPENDIX A:

INSTRUCTIONS A: INSTRUCTIONS READ TO ADULT SUBJECTS GIVING THE PROCEDURE TO BE FOLLOWED IN THEIR SORTING OF THE PHOTOGRAPHS TAKEN OF HOUSES, MEN, WOMEN, GIRLS, BOYS AND CARS.

"In front of you is a pile of photographs. I would like you to sort these photographs into three piles, based on what level of status you consider the photograph shows. Place those you consider to be Upper Status in one pile, those you consider are Middle Status in another pile, and those you consider are Lower Status in a third pile. There must be three piles of photographs; you must have at least one photograph in each of the status levels, although it is not necessary to arrive at three even piles of photographs."

INSTRUCTIONS B: INSTRUCTIONS READ TO SUBJECT AFTER COMPLETION OF THE SORTING OF THE PHOTOGRAPHS, AIMED AT FINDING THE SELECTION THAT BEST REPRESENTED THE STEREOTYPE OF EACH LEVEL OF STATUS.

"I would like you now to go through each of the piles of photographs that you have selected as representing a separate level of status and take out the photograph that is the best representative of that status level. Take out the photograph that best represents the level of status and place it above each of the pile that it is the best representative of. You should then arrive at three piles of photographs, representing three status levels, and three separate photographs, representing the stereotype of each one of the status levels."

# COMPOSITION OF THE PILES OF PHOTOGRAPHS - RECORDING SHEET.

SUBJECT_____ DATE ___/ ___/ ___

HOUSES EXAMPLE

U

M

L

MEN EXAMPLE

U

M

L

WOMEN EXAMPLE

U

M

L

GIRLS EXAMPLE

U

M

L

BOYS EXAMPLE

U

M

L

CARS EXAMPLE

U

M

L

APPENDIX B.

1. The Cover of the Large Envelope Containing the Test Material (Photo-reduced from 15 inches by 10 inches).....B/i
2. House Photographs Test Material, Chosen As Three Levels of Status (Reduced from 10 inches by 8 inches).....B/ii
3. Identification Labels, As Placed On The Outside Of The Envelopes, Identifying The Contained Photographs.....B/iii
4. Men Photographs Test Material.....B/iv
5. Women Photographs Test Material.....B/v
6. Girl Photographs Test Material.....B/vi
7. Boy Photographs Test Material.....B/vii
8. Car Photographs Test Material.....B/viii

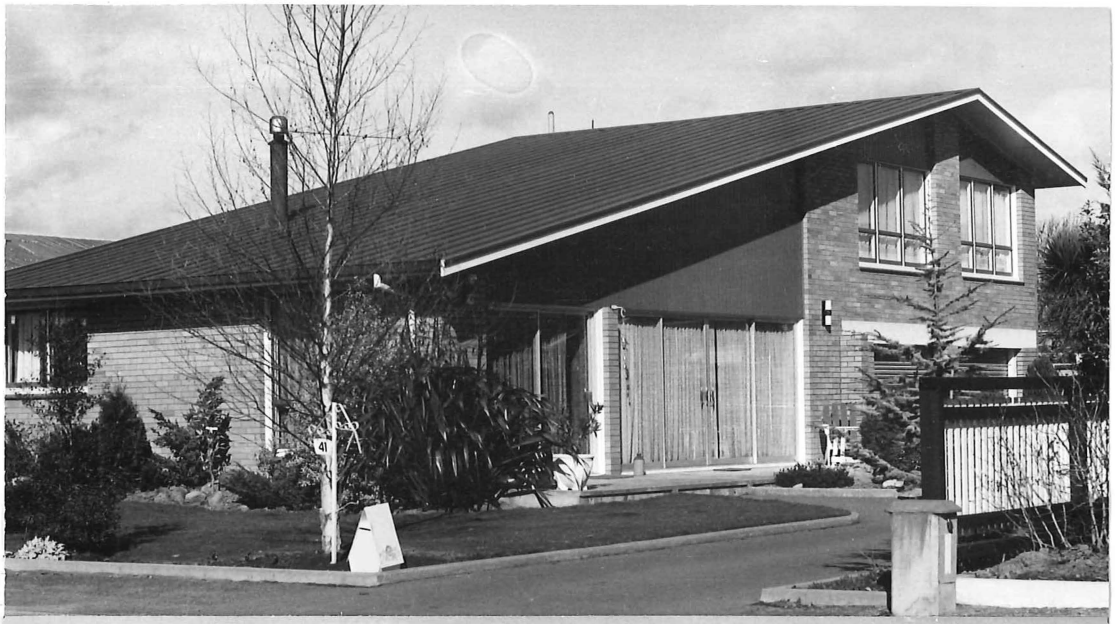
1. DATE.....

2. BOY / GIRL

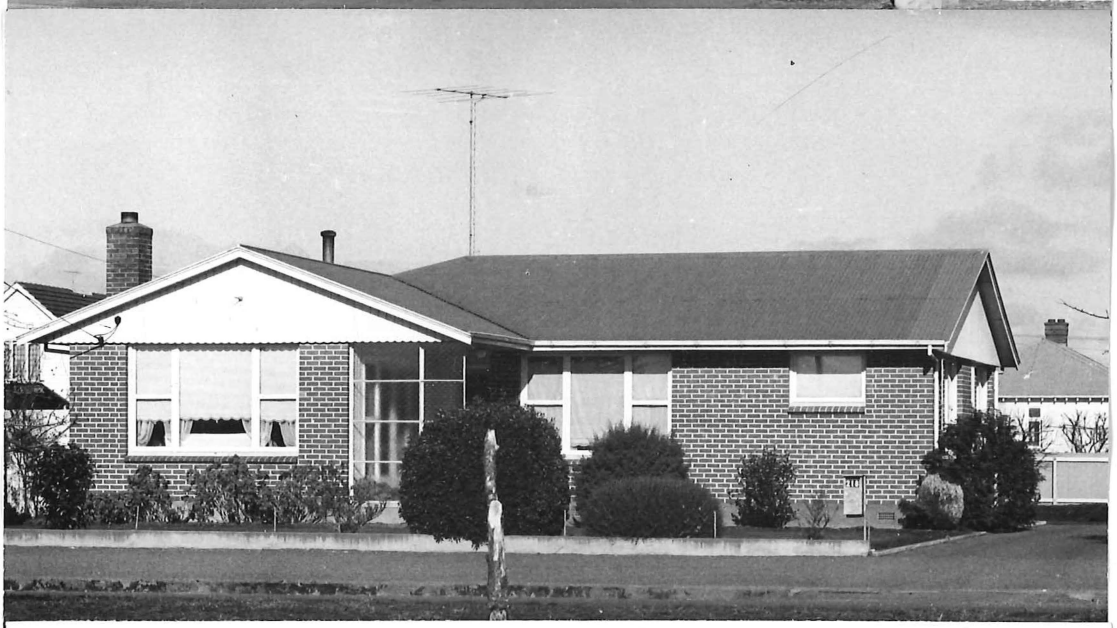
3. AGE .....years .....months

4. FATHER'S OCCUPATION

UPPER STATUS



MIDDLE STATUS



LOWER STATUS

MEN 

WOMEN 

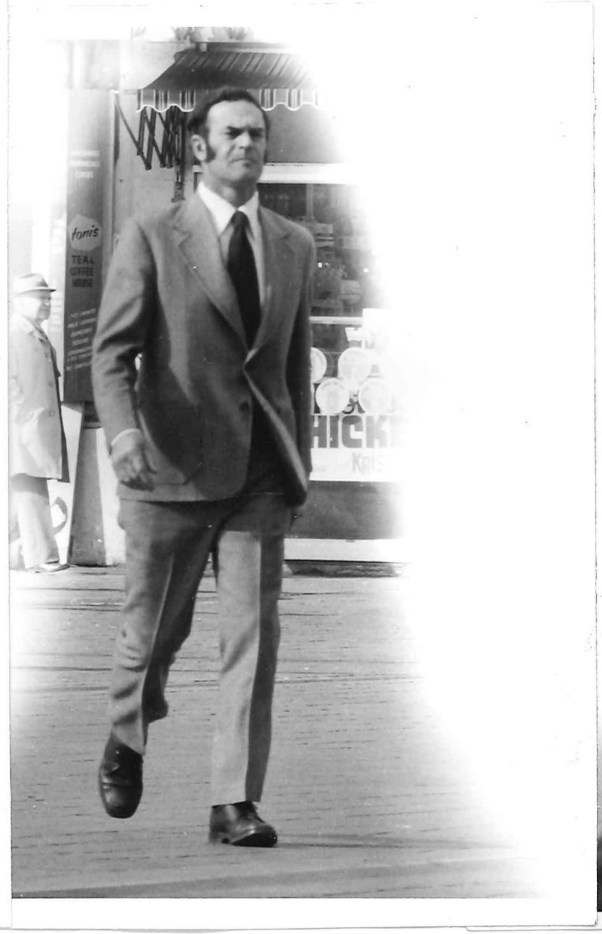
GIRLS 

BOYS 

CARS 

LOWER STATUS MAN

MIDDLE STATUS MAN



UPPER STATUS MAN

LOWER STATUS WOMAN

MIDDLE STATUS WOMAN

UPPER STATUS WOMAN

B/v

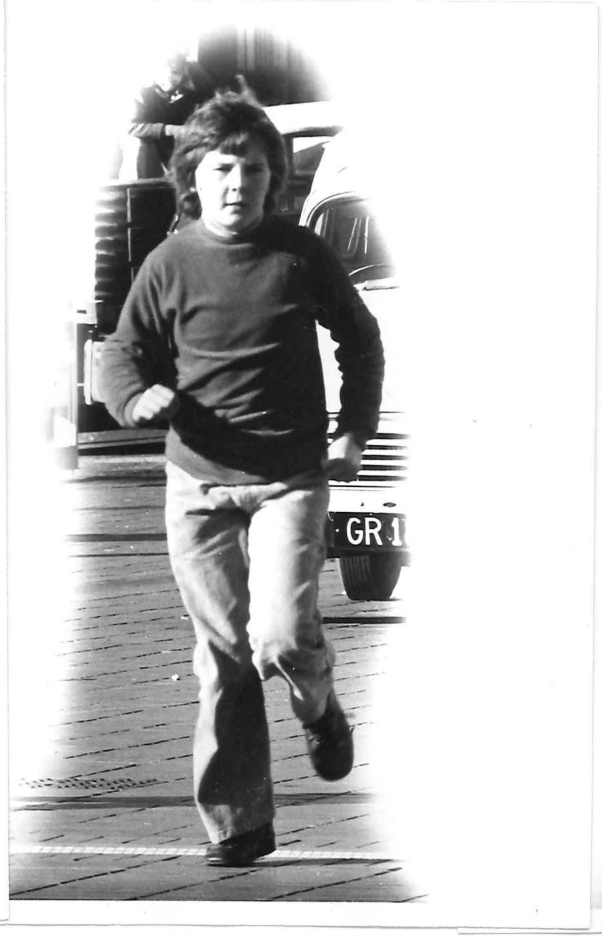
LOWER STATUS GIRL

MIDDLE STATUS GIRL

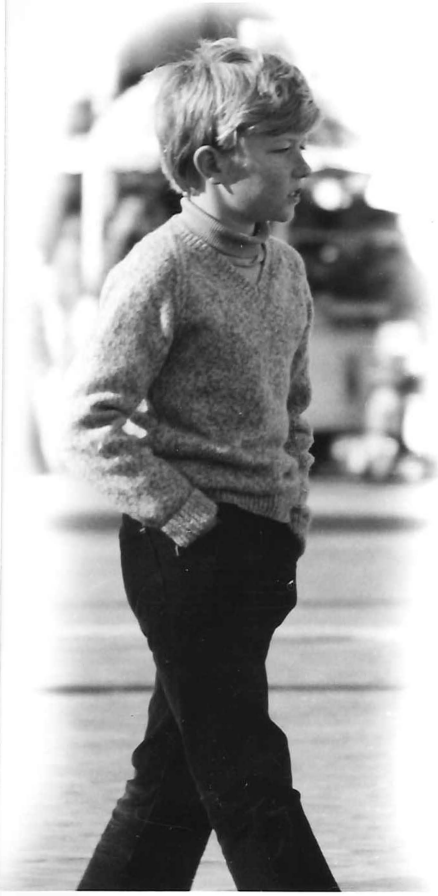
UPPER STATUS GIRL

LOWER STATUS BOY

MIDDLE STATUS BOY




UPPER STATUS BOY



UPPER

STATUS

CAR

MIDDLE

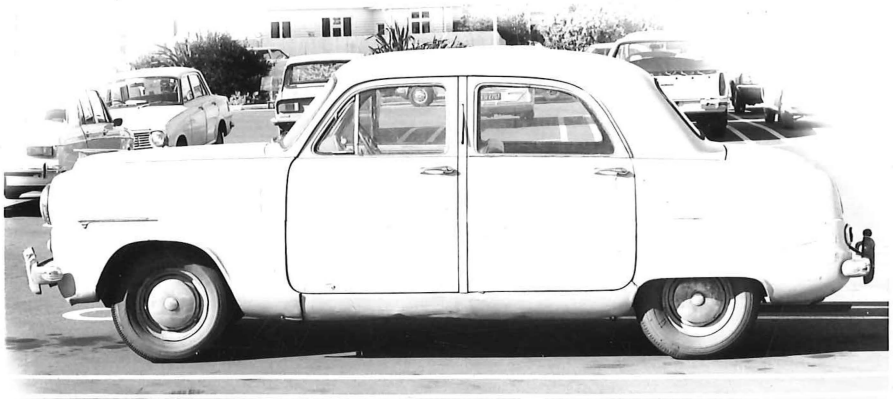
STATUS

CAR

LOWER

STATUS

CAR



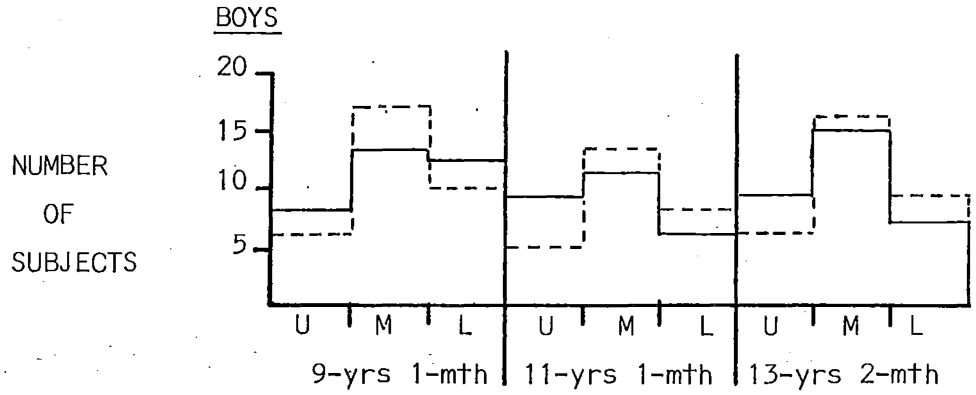
APPENDIX C.

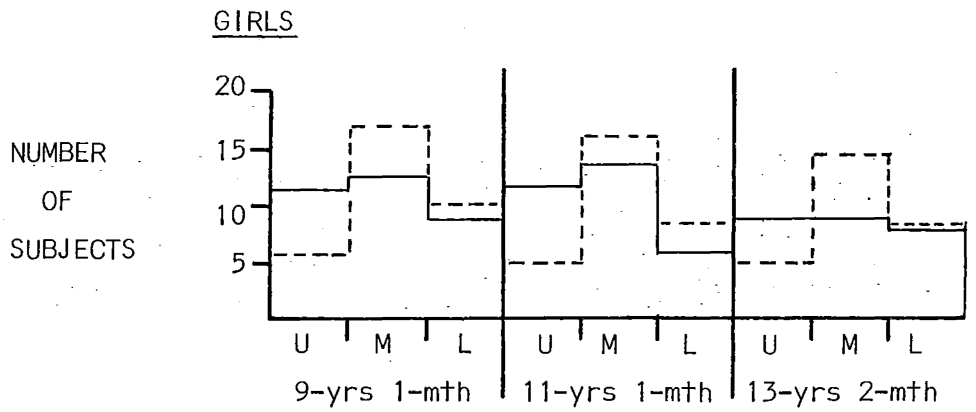
1. Figure A: The Distribution Of Children By Allocation To Socio-economic Status, And The Percentage Of Total Population Within The Same Distribution.....C/i
2. Check List With Teachers Before Testing Takes Place.....C/ii
3. List Of Occupations.....C/iii
4. Written Instructions For Picture Test and Projective Story-completion Task.....C/iv
5. Coding Form For Coding Children's Figure Photograph Placements, And The Order Of The Motorist's Status.....C/v

FIGURE A: THE DISTRIBUTION OF CHILDREN BY FATHER'S SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS, SHOWN AS THE ACTUAL DISTRIBUTION (BY NUMBER OF SUBJECTS), AND AS THE EXPECTED DISTRIBUTION USING THE ELLEY & IRVING (1976) FIGURES OF THE PERCENTAGES OF THE POPULATION WITHIN SIX LEVELS OF SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS.

——— ACTUAL DISTRIBUTION - - - - EXPECTED URBAN DISTRIBUTION

U = Upper Socio-economic status; M = Middle Socio-economic Status;
L = Lower Socio-economic Status.




APPENDIX C:

CHECK-LIST WITH TEACHERS BEFORE TESTING TAKES PLACE.

1. Check the number of solo-parent children in the class (if any), and ask for suggestions on the approachability of the topic of father's occupation, finding out if children are sensitive to the topic.
2. Check to see if any of the following list of "common" names is that also of any children in the class.

   Smith, Jones, Brown, Green, Jackson.
3. Check to see if any of the childrens' father is a Traffic Officer.
4. Check out the list of occupations (on separate sheet), ascertaining if any of these are also held by children's fathers.
5. Check if teacher recognises any of the photographs in the Picture Test; either the House Photographs or the Figure Photographs.
6. Check out the general approach that should be taken towards the children, especially over usage of such terms as "mother/father", and whether there are any problems that the teacher can see possibly occuring.

APPENDIX C:

LIST OF OCCUPATIONS, SELECTED FROM THE SIX LEVELS OF SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS USED BY ELLEY & IRVING (1976).

UPPER STATUS OCCUPATIONS: Elley & Irving (1976) Levels 1 and 2.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Accountant | Company Manager | Insurance Salesman |
| Airline Pilot | Dentist | Journalist |
| Architect | Diplomat | Real Estate Agent |
| Bank Manager | Doctor | Scientist |
| Company Director | Engineer | Surveyor |

MIDDLE STATUS OCCUPATIONS: Elley & Irving (1976) Levels 3 and 4.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Artist | Builder | Photographer |
| Auctioneer | Butcher | Plasterer |
| Baker | Electrician | Plumber |
| Beekeeper | Farmer | Seaman |
| Bookkeeper | Greengrocer | Shopkeeper |
| Bricklayer | Milkman | Wool Buyer |

LOWER STATUS OCCUPATIONS: Elley & Irving (1976) Levels 5 and 6.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Barber | Dustman | Postman |
| Barman | Freezing Worker | Quarryman |
| Bootmaker | Jockey | Rabbiter |
| Bulldozer Driver | Labourer | Stockman |
| Cook | Lorry Driver | Timber Worker |
| Ditch Digger | Painter | Waiter |

APPENDIX C:

WRITTEN INSTRUCTIONS READ TO CHILDREN SUBJECTS.

(Good morning/Good afternoon), I am Mr Amos, and this is Mr McGeorge, and we are from the University. I am interested in finding out what sort of houses people live in, and I have a little task that I would like you to do for me. The task does not have any right or wrong answers; its really just a way of seeing what people think about houses and to see which people live in them, and I am sure that you will enjoy doing this for me.

1. I would like you to look at the large envelope placed before you on your desk. You will see that there are four numbers with a space at each.

   At Number 1 I want you to write down today's date, which is .....

   At Number 2 I want you to cross out the word that does not apply to you. Boys cross out the word GIRL, and girls cross out the word BOY.

   At Number 3 I want you to write down your age in years and months. Mr McGeorge and I will help you if necessary.

   At Number 4 I want you to write down what your father does as a job. If you don't have a father, could you please write down what your mother does for a job; if she stays at home and looks after you, write down "Housewife". If you need help Mr McGeorge and I will help you with spellings.

2. I would like you now to take out all the pieces of paper and envelopes from inside the large envelope. You will find three pieces of lined paper which I want you to put back inside the large envelope for the time being.

3. You should have three photographs of houses stuck onto envelopes. I want you to place these on your desk beside each other, so that

APPENDIX C: INSTRUCTIONS TO CHILDRENS SAMPLE (cont.).

you can see all three of them clearly.

4. There should be five little envelopes, with words and pictures on each of them. I want you to find the envelope with the word "MEN" on it, and the drawing of a man's face. Inside the envelope are three photographs, which I want you to take out. I now want you to put one man inside each of the house envelopes, putting the man inside the house that you think is the house he would live in.

5. REPEAT INSTRUCTIONS FOR MEN, USING WOMEN, GIRLS, BOYS AND THEN CARS. (With Cars, they should be place "inside the house envelope that you think the house would be at.")

6. I would like you to put the three house envelopes back inside your large envelope, and put the small envelopes back inside as well. While you are doing this, you can take out the three pieces of lined paper which have numbers on them.

7. I am now going to tell you a short story, and I would like you to write down the way that you think that it ended on a piece of paper for me.

"The story is about a Traffic Officer and a speeding motorist. The Traffic Officer has his Traffic Car parked on the side of the road, with a radar on it, and is stopping people who are speeding. A car comes along the road, and it is speeding. The Traffic Officer stops the car by signalling to the man driving that he wants him to stop. The man that is driving gets out his car. It is Mr [ ] who is a [ ] . Now, I would like you to write down on your piece of paper that has the number 1 on the top of it, what you think happened next. What do you think the Traffic Officer did to Mr [ ] the [ ] ??

APPENDIX C: INSTRUCTIONS TO CHILDREN SAMPLE (cont.).

The Traffic Officer is still parked in the same place, at the side of the road, with his radar going, and another car comes along. This car is also speeding. It is doing the same speed as the last car. The Traffic Officer signals the man to stop, and he does. The man gets out of the car and it is Mr [ ] who is [ ]. What do you think the Traffic Officer did to Mr [ ] the [ ] ?? Write this down on the piece of paper with the number 2 at the top of it.

The Traffic Officer is still parked in the same place, at the side of the road. Another car comes along, doing the same speed as the last two cars, and the Traffic Officer stops it because the driver is speeding. The man gets out of the car, and it is Mr [ ] who is a [ ]. On the last piece of paper, the one with number 3 on it, I want you to write down what you think happened, and what the Traffic Officer did to Mr [ ] the [ ].

8. Would you now put the three pieces of lined paper back inside the large envelope, and Mr McGeorge and I will pick them up. I would like to thank you very much for helping me with this task. All of the choices that you have made will be put together with those that other children have made for me, and I will see what house children think that people live in. Thank you very much for helping me. Are there any questions you wish me to answer.

APPENDIX C:

CODING FORM USED FOR CODING THE CHILDREN'S ALLOCATIONS OF THE FIGURE PHOTOGRAPHS TO THE HOUSE PHOTOGRAPHS, AS WELL AS RECORDING THE ORDER IN WHICH THE OCCUPATION STATUS LEVELS WERE PRESENTED.

SUBJECT. No. _____.

| | STATUS OF HOUSE | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | HIGH | MEDIUM | BOTTOM |
| PHOTOGRAPHS | | | |
| MEN | | | |
| WOMEN | | | |
| GIRLS | | | |
| BOYS | | | |
| CARS | | | |

ORDER OF DRIVER STATUS

| |
|---|
| |
| |
| |

APPENDIX D.

1. Table A: Distribution of Children's Story-completion Scores Over All Experimental Variables.....D/i

2. Table B: Distribution of Children's Story-completion Scores Over Sex x Age.....D/ii

3. Table C: Distribution of Children's Story-completion Scores Over Sex x Socio-economic Status of Father.....D/iii

4. Table D: Distribution of Children's Story-completion Scores Over Age x Socio-economic Status of Father.....D/iv

APPENDIX D:

TABLE A: DISTRIBUTION OF CHILDRENS' STORY-COMPLETION SCORES OVER SEX x AGE x SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS OF FATHER, EXPRESSED AS PERCENTAGES ACROSS EACH GROUPING AND SUMMING TO ONE HUNDRED PER CENT, AND AS THE NUMBER OF SUBJECTS (N) WITHIN EACH CELL.

| SUBJECTS | | | CATEGORIES INTO WHICH THE STORY-COMPLETIONS WERE CODED. | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| SEX | AGE | S.E.S. FATHER | NO DIFFERENCE | SOCIAL AWARENESS | PROGRESSIVE PUNISHMENT | DIMINISHING PUNISHMENT |
| BOYS | 9-yr 1-mth | Upper | (3) 37.5 | (1) 12.5 | (4) 50.0 | (0) |
| | | Middle | (8) 61.5 | (3) 23.1 | (2) 15.4 | (0) |
| | | Lower | (9) 75.0 | (2) 16.7 | (1) 8.3 | (0) |
| | 11-yr 1-mth | Upper | (7) 77.8 | (1) 11.1 | (1) 11.1 | (0) |
| | | Middle | (8) 72.7 | (0) | (2) 18.2 | (1) 9.1 |
| | | Lower | (3) 50.0 | (0) | (3) 50.0 | (0) |
| | 13-yr 2-mth | Upper | (6) 66.7 | (1) 11.1 | (2) 22.2 | (0) |
| | | Middle | (8) 53.3 | (7) 46.6 | (0) | (0) |
| | | Lower | (4) 57.1 | (2) 28.6 | (1) 14.3 | (0) |
| TOTAL | | | (56) 62.0 | (17) 19.0 | (16) 18.0 | (1) 1.0 |
| GIRLS | 9-yr 1-mth | Upper | (5) 45.5 | (4) 36.3 | (1) 9.1 | (1) 9.1 |
| | | Middle | (8) 66.7 | (1) 8.3 | (2) 16.7 | (1) 8.3 |
| | | Lower | (6) 66.7 | (1) 11.1 | (1) 11.1 | (1) 11.1 |
| | 11-yr 1-mth | Upper | (9) 81.8 | (1) 9.1 | (1) 9.1 | (0) |
| | | Middle | (10) 76.9 | (1) 7.7 | (2) 15.4 | (0) |
| | | Lower | (5) 83.3 | (1) 16.7 | (0) | (0) |
| | 13-yr 2-mth | Upper | (5) 55.6 | (4) 44.4 | (0) | (0) |
| | | Middle | (7) 77.8 | (0) | (2) 22.2 | (0) |
| | | Lower | (7) 87.5 | (1) 12.5 | (0) | (0) |
| TOTAL | | | (62) 70.0 | (14) 16.0 | (9) 10.0 | (3) 4.0 |

APPENDIX D:

TABLE B: DISTRIBUTION OF CHILDRENS' STORY-COMPLETION SCORES OVER SEX x AGE, EXPRESSED AS PERCENTAGES ACROSS EACH GROUPING AND SUMMING TO ONE HUNDRED PER CENT, AND AS THE NUMBER OF SUBJECTS (N) WITHIN EACH CELL.

| SUBJECTS | | CATEGORIES INTO WHICH THE STORY-COMPLETIONS WERE CODED. | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| SEX | AGE | NO DIFFERENCE | SOCIAL AWARENESS | DIFFERENTIAL PUNISHMENT |
| BOYS | 9-yrs 1-mth | (20) 60.6 | (6) 18.2 | (7) 21.2 |
| | 11-yrs 1-mth | (18) 69.2 | (1) 3.9 | (7) 26.9 |
| | 13-yrs 2-mth | (18) 38.1 | (10) 32.3 | (3) 9.6 |
| GIRLS | 9-yrs 1-mth | (19) 59.4 | (6) 18.8 | (7) 21.8 |
| | 11-yrs 1-mth | (24) 80.0 | (3) 10.0 | (3) 10.0 |
| | 13-yrs 2-mth | (19) 73.1 | (5) 19.2 | (2) 7.7 |

APPENDIX D:

TABLE C: DISTRIBUTION OF CHILDRENS' STORY-COMPLETION SCORES OVER SEX x SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS OF FATHER, EXPRESSED AS PERCENTAGES ACROSS EACH GROUPING AND SUMMING TO ONE HUNDRED PER CENT, AND AS THE NUMBER (N) WITHIN EACH CELL.

| SUBJECTS | | CATEGORIES INTO WHICH THE STORY-COMPLETIONS WERE CODED. | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| SEX | SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS OF FATHER | NO DIFFERENCE | SOCIAL AWARENESS | DIFFERENTIAL PUNISHMENT |
| BOYS | Upper | (16) 61.5 | (3) 11.5 | (7) 27.0 |
| | Middle | (24) 61.5 | (10) 25.6 | (5) 12.9 |
| | Lower | (16) 64.0 | (4) 16.0 | (5) 20.0 |
| GIRLS | Upper | (19) 61.3 | (9) 29.0 | (3) 9.7 |
| | Middle | (25) 73.5 | (2) 5.9 | (7) 20.6 |
| | Lower | (18) 78.3 | (3) 13.0 | (2) 8.7 |

APPENDIX D:

TABLE D: DISTRIBUTION OF CHILDRENS' STORY-COMPLETION SCORES OVER AGE × SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS OF FATHER, EXPRESSED AS PERCENTAGES ACROSS EACH GROUPING AND SUMMING TO ONE HUNDRED PER CENT, AND AS THE NUMBER OF SUBJECTS (N) WITHIN EACH CELL.

| SUBJECTS | | CATEGORIES INTO WHICH THE STORY-COMPLETIONS WERE CODED. | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| AGE | SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS OF FATHER | NO DIFFERENCE | SOCIAL AWARENESS | DIFFERENTIAL PUNISHMENT |
| 9-yr 1-mth | Upper | (8) 42.1 | (5) 26.3 | (6) 31.6 |
| | Middle | (16) 64.0 | (4) 16.0 | (5) 20.0 |
| | Lower | (15) 71.4 | (3) 14.3 | (3) 14.3 |
| 11-yr 1-mth | Upper | (16) 80.0 | (2) 10.0 | (2) 10.0 |
| | Middle | (18) 75.0 | (1) 4.2 | (5) 20.8 |
| | Lower | (8) 66.7 | (1) 8.3 | (3) 25.0 |
| 13-yr 2-mth | Upper | (11) 61.1 | (5) 27.8 | (2) 11.1 |
| | Middle | (15) 62.5 | (7) 29.2 | (2) 8.3 |
| | Lower | (11) 73.3 | (3) 20.0 | (1) 6.7 |

APPENDIX E.

1. Examples of children's use of indirect bias, whereby one or more motorists are seen as benefiting from the Traffic Officer being aware of their status position.....E/i

2. Examples of children's use of direct bias, whereby one or more motorists are seen to hold additional characteristics, which the subject has introduced to the story-completion.....E/ii

APPENDIX E:

SOME EXAMPLES OF CHILDRENS USE OF INDIRECT BIAS, WHEREBY ONE OR MORE MOTORISTS ARE SEEN AS BENEFITING FROM THE TRAFFIC OFFICER BEING AWARE OF THEIR STATUS POSITION.

Story-completions are re-written in the child's own use of vocabulary, with the original spelling mistakes. The status of the motorist for the story-completion is written before in brackets.

Girl, 9-years 1-month, Upper socio-economic status

(Lower Status)

"The traffic office gave Mr brown a ticket and fined mr brown 50 Dollars."

(Upper Status)

"He told him not to speed again or hell a rest him."

(Middle Status)

"The traffic officer fined him 10 Dollars."

Girl, 9-years 1-month, Upper socio-economic status

(Lower Status)

"The Traffic officer gave mr smith a ticket. Then mr smith got mad and started an arguement."

(Upper Status)

"I think he said This is not like you Mr Jones."

(Middle Status)

"The traffic officer said to Mr Brown not you again becaues he all ready given him two tickets that week."

Boy, 11-years 1-month, Upper socio-economic status

(Middle Status)

"He got out a book and gave him a ticket and mr smith drove off."

Appendix E (cont.)

(Upper Status)

"He gave him a ticket after mr jones had gane he rippped up the ticet."

(Lower Status)

"He gave him a ticet and told him a to go slower."

Girl, 11-years 1-month, Upper socio-economic status

(Middle Status)

"he asked him why he was speeding and then gave him a ticket."

(Upper Status)

"he stopped the car and gave him a ask for his reason for speeding and it must have been a good one because he let him go."

(Lower Status)

"He gave him a ticket after he had gone he threw a topsey turvey."

Girl, 11-years 1-month, Middle socio-economic status

(Middle Status)

"he gave him a ticket for speeing."

(Upper Status)

"he gets out of it because he is a big big big business."

(Lower Status)

"he gave him a ticket for speeing."

Girl, 11-years 1-month, Lower socio-economic status

(Upper Status)

"Then the Trafc offers gave him a Ticket for $3,00 for speeding."

(Lower Status)

"Gave him a fine to but he only gave him a fine for $1,00."

(Middle Status)

"The taffic offers gave him a ticket but he had to pay dowble. The tafic

Appendix E. (cont.)

offers said the Juge will deal with you."

Boy, 13-years 2-months, Middle socio-economic status

(Lower Status)

"He gave Mr Smith a small fine not a large one because Mr Smith might not have been able to pay it because he was only a timber worker and not very rich."

(Middle Status)

"Mr Jones was taken to court where the judge fined him a little more than Mr Smith because he could afford a little more than the last person."

(Upper Status)

"Mr brown was taken to court where he was fined for overdoing the speed limit he was a little more than Mr Smith and mr Jones because he could afford it."

Boy, 13-years 2-months, Middle socio-economic status

(Lower Status)

"The traffic officer gave Mister Smith a ticket."

(Middle Status)

"The traffic officer asked Mr Jones why he was speeding and gave him a ticket for speeding."

(Upper Status)

"The traffic officer just gave Mr Brown a caution and let him go."

Boy, 13-years 2-months, Lower socio-economic status

(Upper Status)

"The cop gave him a warning after he saw who it was he probably gave an excuse (probebly he had a to meet a cliant)."

Appendix E. (cont.)

(Middle Status)

"Made him send an explanation to the transport office."

(Lower Status)

"He gave an explanation but the cop still gave him a ticket."

Girl, 13-years 2-months, Upper socio-economic status

(Lower Status)

"The officer would have given Mr Smith a small fine for speeding. But the timber worker would have objected although it would not have changed the officers mind."

(Middle Status)

"Once again he would of explained that he was speeding and given him a fine. But I think the fine might have been slightly less than Mr Smiths."

(Upper Status)

"Mr Browne plays an important part in the community and is richer than the other victoms so i suggest the police officer would only give him a warning."

APPENDIX E:

SOME EXAMPLES OF CHILDREN'S USE OF DIRECT BIAS, WHEREBY ONE OR MORE MOTORISTS ARE SEEN TO HOLD ADDITIONAL CHARACTERISTICS, WHICH THE SUBJECT HAS INTRODUCED TO THE STORY-COMPLETION.

Story-completions are re-written in the child's own use of vocabulary, with the original spelling mistakes. The status of the motorist for the story-completion is written before in brackets.

Boy, 9-years 1-month, Middle socio-economic status

(Middle Status)

"The office gave him a Ticket for speeding and made him pay a fine and took Mr Smiths liscence off him."

(Upper Status)

"The office took Mr Jones liscence off him and had a look at it. Apparently he had been caught before and he had to take his liscence off him."

(Lower Status)

"The same as the other time when the two cars got caught."

Boy, 9-years 1-month, Lower socio-economic status

(Middle Status)

"The traffic officer pulled out a pad and wrote a ticket and gave it to Mr smith. It had a fine of two dollars or an hour in prison. But aparntly he had been caught before and his liscence got taken away."

(Upper Status)

"He gave the Architect a fine of two dollars and he stormed off."

(Lower Status)

"The traffic officer took his liscence apparantly he had been drinking and driving at the same time so he was put in prison for three days."

Appendix E. (cont.)

Boy, 9-years 1-month, Middle socio-economic status

(Middle Status)

"Then the Traffic officer asked Mr smith for his liscence and he looked at it and then the frafic officer gave Mr Smith a tickit."

(Upper Status)

"Then the traffic officer asked Mr Jones for his liscence and he looked at it and then the traffic officer gave Mr Jones a tickit."

(Lower Status)

"The traffic officer said is this your car Mr Brown yes said Mr Brown" can I see your licence this isn't your car I will see you in court tomorrow."

Girl, 9-year 1-month, Upper socio-economic status

(Lower Status)

"Next the traffic officer cave him a ticket for going to fast. But Poor Mrs Brown had two pay the money."

(Upper Status)

"He was to go to get a ticket and He lost his Job because he had to gave some money in the car that Belonged to the Bank."

(Middle Status)

"Because he went fast he squashed his groceris he lost his job."

Girl, 11-years 1-month, Lower socio-economic status

(Middle Status)

"Gave him a ticket."

(Upper Status)

"Mr brown offered him some money but he said no and gave him a ticket."

(Lower Status)

"Gave him a ticket."

Appendix E. (cont.)

Girl, 13-years 2-months, Middle socio-economic status

(Upper Status)

"Asked him his name and a address and other things and then give him the ticket and said had so much time to pay the fine if not payed by then he goes before a court."

(Middle Status)

"I think that the green grocer was given a ticket."

(Lower Status)

"I think that Mr brown would argued with the cop and in the end get sent to court."